

FORUM

Canada, the Constitution and the War



England Discusses War Aims

F. H. UNDERHILL



Please Profiteer

RUFUS II

God Inc.

ALAN GREY

THE CANADIAN FORUM

Eleanor Godfrey—Managing Editor

L. A. Morris—Business Manager

Publishers

The Canadian Forum Limited
28 Wellington Street West, Toronto, Canada

Subscription Rate: Two dollars per annum

Contents

Editorials.

England Discusses Peace Frank H. Underhill
A Reply to "Black Diamonds"
War And The Constitution F. R. Scott
Drums Ui Briun
November Beach Alan Creighton
Freedom And War G. M. A. Grube
Please Profiteer Rufus II
Think Not Winifred Hillier
God Inc. Alan Grey
Drawings Geoffrey Lea
Shakespeare; Script Writer W. S. Milne
James Connolly S. Levenson
Lines W. Watson
Arbutus Tree Margaret Hincks
Oriental Rain John F. Davidson
Epitaph Ida De Bruyn
Book Reviews by G. M. A. Grube, G. Vlastos, E. A.
Havelock, R. E. K. Pemberton, J. S. Will, E. Birney,
R. F. Leggett, E. Godfrey, F. H. U.
Books Received.

Our Contributors

GEOFFREY LEA was one of the teachers of the art classes held last year in John Frank's House for unemployed men, where they painted and modelled and recorded their life in the House. Now that the House is closed Mr. Lea is with the art classes of the Workers' Educational Association.

RUFUS II, as our readers may remember, conducted the news briefs column "Another Month." A Chartered Accountant, he is well able to discuss the hidden implications of the war budget.

ALAN GREY is a young Toronto newspaperman whose nice appreciation of the bizarre is well illustrated by his article on Father Divine.

WINNIFRED HILLIER is an Honour undergraduate of the University of Toronto.

UI BRIUN, a frequent contributor of verse to The Forum, makes his home in Eire.

NOTE: While unable to pay contributors at present, the Canadian Forum welcomes contributions of all kinds: fiction, political, social, literary and artistic criticism. Manuscripts should be accompanied by a self-addressed and fully stamped envelope.

LSR

LEAGUE FOR SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

The League for Social Reconstruction is an association of men and women who are working for the establishment in Canada of a social order, in which the basic principle regulating production, distribution and service will be the common good rather than private profit.

ITS AIMS ARE —

To stimulate discussion of current social problems through public meetings.

To encourage the reading and study of works on economic, political, and international affairs.

To make knowledge and reason, instead of habit and sentiment, the basis of constructive criticism of Canadian society.

To break down prejudice and build up a social faith.

(L.S.R. membership fee for one year and one year subscription to The Canadian Forum—\$3.00)

Write for information to

National Office P.O. Box 296, Montreal

WHEN WRITING TO ADVERTISERS PLEASE MENTION THE CANADIAN FORUM

THE CANADIAN FORUM

VOL. XIX.

Trenton, Ontario, November, 1939

No. 226

The War

EVERY day our newspapers have big headlines about an impending Armageddon on the western front, but every day their news columns show that the war at present is being fought by the diplomats rather than the generals. We ought not to speak lightly of the actual loss of life which this war is causing. And in wartime so much can happen in a few days that it is dangerous for a monthly journal to pass judgements which may be irrelevant long before they appear in print. Still, at the moment, it does seem too late in the season for any major land attack by Hitler upon the French front. Perhaps it will turn out that he made his fatal mistake in sending his legions first against Poland instead of attacking in the west before the allies were ready. Apparently he is going now to concentrate his propaganda efforts on working up a hate against Britain and his military efforts on breaking the British naval blockade. In this sphere the successes, however partial, of German submarines and airplanes against British warships, are causing neutral experts to wonder whether sea power will after all be as effective as in the last war. But it is too soon to judge, for only minor engagements have as yet been fought. The allies are settling down for a long siege of Germany. To make this effective their diplomacy in the Balkans will have to win even greater victories than the Anglo-French-Turkish agreement. But the real way to shorten the siege is to weaken the will of the German people to resist. And the quickest method of achieving this end is to make a clear declaration of war aims, which will show the German people that the war is not being waged to divide Germany up into fragments or to produce a Europe in which eighty million Germans cannot make a decent living. What kind of European organization are the Chamberlain and Daladier governments fighting for?

American Neutrality

ALL the experts seem to agree that the repeal of the arms embargo is certain to pass both Houses at Washington. The new cash and carry legislation is going to be more stringent as to the cash provisions and less stringent as to the carry provisions than when at first drafted. The long wearisome debate in the Senate has made clear that the purpose of the law is to help Britain and France as much as possible without getting involved in military operations and without lending them money which is not likely to be paid back. The real reason why the debate dragged on so long has been the determination of the President's opponents to prevent anything that will increase his prestige and so lend force to the third-term movement; and this determination is strengthened by their suspicions that he has taken sides so completely in the European war that, given another four years of office, he is likely to lead his country into the war. The debate has accomplished something in Canada. At last it has sunk into the heads of our newspaper editors that, however sympathetic they may be to the allied cause, the overwhelming majority of the American people do really want to stay out of this war. (The Gallup poll showed that the percentage of those who think that the U.S. should go in if Britain and France seem to be losing was smaller after six weeks of war than it was when the war broke out.)

It is probably only wishful thinking by people already in the war which sees the United States of America as playing any permanent part in the United States of Europe or in the new European balance of power which may come out of this war. During the nineteenth century from 1815 to 1914 Britain intervened only once on the European continent in a military way. She directed her diplomacy to maintaining there a balance of power favourable to herself, while her commercial and military efforts were mainly concentrated on building up a great non-European empire.

The role of the United States towards Europe in the twentieth century may well be substantially the same. If she intervenes in this war it will be for American purposes and not for British purposes. And in the meantime she will entrench herself in the markets of Latin America and the Orient. Europe has lost this war already. The victors will be Russia and America.

Stalin and Russia

THE last Soviet movie that we saw before Russia joined the anti-Comintern Pact was the one which showed Peter the Great opening his famous window upon Europe. Since the beginning of September Stalin appears to have revived the policy of Peter and Catherine with a vengeance. He is re-establishing Russia's position in the Baltic, and apparently the main purpose of the unsuccessful negotiations with Turkey was to turn the Black Sea into a Russian lake. But these actions, along with the taking over of eastern Poland, may be merely the obvious military steps to protect Russia's European frontiers, and it may still be true that Stalin is the one real isolationist among world statesmen. Economists, having had a few weeks to study the matter, are increasingly doubtful about the amount of immediate aid in foodstuffs and war supplies that Russia can or will give to Germany. She has not much surplus beyond her domestic needs, and the source of Russian oil and metals is a long way from Germany, over territory which is not well equipped with transport facilities. Moreover, Germany would find difficulty in paying for supplies on any large scale. Admitted that the signing of the Russo-German pact gave Hitler the green light to advance on Poland, every action of Stalin's since then has been to checkmate German ambitions in the Baltic and in the Balkans.

These mundane considerations, however, will be loftily forgotten by our more neurotic patriots who want something to hate and are much more comfortable hating communism than hating fascism. They are seeing nightmares of a red-brown revolutionary wave sweeping from the east over Europe and destroying our western civilization. If this threat does develop it will be our capitalism rather than our democracy at which the invaders will be aiming. Or, rather to be more precise, it will be the empires of the capitalist powers in Asia and Africa. Well, it's anybody's guess. But our guess is that Stalin has long lost most of his interest in social revolution and that his regime is not firmly enough seated to risk a war and is acutely conscious of that fact. Furthermore, when the peace confer-

ence comes, his main interest will be the ousting of British imperialism from India and Japanese imperialism from China. His whole policy since he got control of the Soviet machine has shown that he thinks the future of Russia is in Asia rather than in Europe.

Quebec

THE rout of Mr. Duplessis and his government will cause few tears in English-speaking Canada. Imperialists detested him for his opposition to the federal government's policy on the war, and liberals (with a small l) detested him for his Padlock Act and his antagonism to the independent trade union movement. Incidentally it will be interesting to see what the Liberals (with a capital L) do about the Padlock Act now. Outside Quebec the issue of the election was presented too simply by our newspapers, who are all imperialist, as being the threat to Canadian unity on the question of participation in war. The Duplessis government, however, had roused many local resentments inside Quebec. It had done nothing effective to attack the "Trustards" and its financial record was about as bad as it could be. Mr. Duplessis' own presentation of the issue as being one of defending Quebec's provincial autonomy was clearly fake. But it did seem that his appeal to French racial feeling might be successful. For the Dominion government had manoeuvred the Quebec members at Ottawa by appeals to party loyalty and by a skilful vagueness as to what Parliament was really voting on when it approved the Address, so that they were given no real chance to vote clearly on the question whether they were for the war or not. But since the forceful intervention of Mr. Lapointe and the federal ministers from Quebec in the provincial election, there can be no doubt that Quebec does substantially accept the fact of Canadian participation in the war and will not challenge the government's policy unless and until conscription becomes a practical issue. If she stands then against Canadian involvement in Europe "to the last man and the last dollar" she will find many sympathisers in other parts of Canada.

Conscription

BOTH the old parties have been seeking popular favour by what appears to be strong declarations against conscription. But the fact is that all these declarations are completely useless as a guarantee that conscription will not be introduced. Mr. King's declaration is a promise only as to the action of his government; it is not binding on any government that may succeed the

present one. Whether we shall have conscription depends partly on how the wastage of man-power in the British and French armies may be, and partly on how far we commit ourselves in the early stages of the war to large expeditionary forces overseas. If we commit ourselves to drift into the position of maintaining a force comparable in size to the Canadian Corps of the last war, then we shall be forced into conscription in order to keep the force up to fighting strength. If the allied forces embark on enterprises which waste man-power on a scale comparable to that of 1916-18, then they will demand with increasing insistence that Canada make sacrifices for the common cause similar to theirs. So far the Ottawa government has shown a commendable resistance to hysterical demands for mass enlistments. But the record of Mr. King's government in all other fields in the past has been that it invariably goes in the direction towards which pressure is greatest. There will be plenty of pressure upon it, motivated by a great variety of considerations, to make large and spectacular contributions in man-power overseas; and the pressure will increase steadily from this moment as long as the war continues. (The large air force planned as part of Canada's contribution will be a factor accentuating this tendency.) We may expect that the government will gradually yield to this pressure unless there is some equal pressure from another direction. At any rate, the question whether we shall have to face the conscription issue depends on the size of our contingents overseas and not upon any present-day promises of politicians in or out of office.

A Witness Against the War

CANADIANS are not all united in approving of our participation in this war, and a wise government will not insist on too much enforced uniformity. The statement of seventy-five ministers of the United Church raises the issue very clearly, and it is hard to believe that democratic governments which profess to stand for freedom will prosecute men of such obvious sincerity as these men. So far most of the arrests and prosecutions under the War Measures Act and the Defence regulations have been in Ontario; the most notable of these cases, that of Frank Watson, is at present under appeal. The manifesto of the seventy-five deserves wider quotation than it has received. As usual, our newspapers devote more space to disapproving of their words than to telling what their words were.

England Discusses War Aims

F. H. UNDERHILL

THE official censorship on military news is as nothing compared with the voluntary censorship which our Canadian newspapers have imposed upon themselves in regard to political news from England. They have consistently played down the activities of Mr. Lloyd George and all those who are co-operating with him in exploring the possibilities of peace. They are equally economical of space when it comes to reporting the vigorous discussion which is going on all over England about war aims. Yet almost every day since the war began the London Times has been printing letters from eminent Englishmen on this subject. The correspondence began on September 4 with letters from A. A. Milne and Maxwell Garnett demanding that the British government formulate a positive policy for a post-Hitler Europe. The government has, of course, up to the present successfully evaded all such demands, and the Times itself declares that it would be premature to draw up now any detailed list of aims. But its correspondence columns show that there is a wide diversity of views as to what Britain is really fighting for, as distinct from what she is fighting against—about which most people are agreed, though some of the formulations of the anti-Hitler creed will be a joy to cynical sociologists in years to come.

It is evident that the thesis that the war is against the German government and not against the German people is not accepted by all the Times correspondents. Some of them feel strongly that there has been an inherent incompatibility between Germans and civilisation ever since the days when Tacitus first described the German barbarian. And they are not deterred from the expression of these views by the warning of Dr. Moritz Bonn, himself a distinguished German exile, that the Goebbels propaganda machine will use all such letters to inflame German bitterness and keep the German people fighting to the last ditch.

Bishop Hensely Henson has a remarkable letter on September 15. "In striking for justice, liberty and international law we may be assured that (I borrow Bishop Butler's phrase) we are 'on the side of the Divine administration' . . . Our war is a crusade for the rescue of the ultimate factors of Christian civilisation, and we need the faith and fervor of crusaders if we are to achieve victory. I find myself in harmony with the Puritans, who in the grim conflict against the forces

of reaction in the seventeenth century had often on their lips the words of the prophetess: 'Curse ye Meroz, saith the angel of the Lord. Curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof; because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty.'

The irrepressible A. P. Herbert takes advantage of the occasion to get in a dig at his favorite enemies, the Oxford Groupers, and he quotes a pre-war utterance of Dr. Buchman with relish: "Thank God for a man like Adolf Hitler, who will stand against the anti-Christ of Communism."

Generally speaking, there appears to be a fairly clear cleavage of opinion between liberals (using that term for all those who supported a vigorous League of Nations policy after 1920) and their opponents. Men such as Sir John Marriott oppose the proposition that Britain should say that she wants a democratic Germany, on the ground that no people have any right to impose a form of government upon another. Sir Ernest Benn is sarcastic about all the idealists. "Some of our political leaders, as well as some of your correspondents, are already improving the occasion by telling us about their own particular Utopias . . . We have no other aim than to destroy Hitlerism, and no elaboration of that simple purpose should be permitted." When Professor Gilbert Murray declares that "there must be above the clash of national ambitions some international authority such as the League . . . It may be that at last we can form inside the general League a real Federation of Europe," he is answered by Douglas Jerrold who says that "the League failed to bind the conscience of Catholic Europe," and that "the Catholic centre and south of Europe is still as intellectually hostile to the principle of Western capitalist Liberalism as it is to Communism."

Sir Norman Angell is one of those who puts most strongly the case for "a clear understanding of what we fight for and not merely what we fight against." He remarks that talk of fighting for democracy is somewhat difficult, considering that Poland was the occasion of the war, that Turkey, Roumania and Greece are potential allies, and that Italy is a neutral whose friendship is thought desirable. But he goes on to point out with his usual trenchant clarity that upon a clear definition of war aims will depend both the attitude of the United States and the degree of resistance of the German people themselves. "These are factors which will determine, if not the outcome of the war, then its severity and duration, its cost in British and French lives, in devastations and agonies that may become world-wide . . . If Hitler can persuade his people that our victory can be even worse for them than they

have come to believe our last victory has been, then their resistance is likely to be correspondingly long and bitter."

The two correspondents who are most positive in their statement of war aims are Julian Huxley and H. G. Wells. Says the former: "Now that totalitarian technique has increased the power of the State so enormously, the form of government of any European state can all too easily become a matter of concern to other nations; indeed it is becoming impossible to envisage the co-existence of numerous states possessed of such a high potential of power, sharing the narrow living space of Europe on the old basis of full sovereignty and the balance of power. The dismemberment of Germany can be ruled out as a long-term war aim. The alternative can only be some move in the direction of federalism. From this the fate of the League need not deter us. Its failure seems at bottom to have been due to its concentration on the purely political aspect of internationalism, to the neglect of economic and social machinery; and to its tie-up with the principle of self-determination and consequently of unrestricted nationalism. . . . Our statement of war aims must provide a platform on which neutral countries too can take their stand, with a view to playing an active part in the settlement. Is the new Europe one which they will wish to see established, will work to secure, will co-operate in maintaining? That is, perhaps, the first criterion of the rightness of any war aims we put forward." And he goes on to lay down a program of international economic agencies to promote increased consumption and improved distribution of raw materials; unified transport institutions, notably pooled civil aviation; international cultural and health machinery; a population section to deal with migration and refugee settlement; pooling of typical colonial possessions; and a political federal centre with powers of taxation and with control over some international armed force.

Mr. Wells' letter (September 26) was evidently considered so undesirable in its tendencies that the Times accompanied it by a long leading article to undo some of its bad effects. He begins by pointing out that in the last war the allied governments avoided to the last any clear statement of their aims, and that the war "came to a ragged end in mutual accusations of broken promises and double crossing." Even so, he adds, there was a world-wide feeling in 1918 that a great revolution in human affairs was imminent. But the League was "a poor and ineffective outcome of the revolutionary proposal to banish armed conflict from the world and inaugurate a new life for mankind. It was too conservative of

existing things, half-hearted, diplomatic . . . The Great War did not so much come to an end as smoulder through two decades, the Fatuous Twenties and the Frightened Thirties, to flare up again now . . . And the decisive question before our species is whether this time it will set its face resolutely towards that drastic remoulding of ideas and relationships, that world revolution, which it has shirked for a quarter of a century . . . The thing I am most terrified by today is the manifest threat of a new weak put-off of our aspirations for a new world, by some repetition of the Geneva simulacrum. Last time it was the League of Nations; this time the magic word to do the trick is Federation. But if it is to be a real, effective federation of mankind, a genuine attempt to realize that phase of world-wide plenty and safety that we have every reason to suppose attainable, then we have to discuss simply and sincerely and work out plans for the polite mediation of monarchies, the competent pooling and socialization of the natural resources and staple industries of the world, the revision and extension of our universities and other knowledge organizations, and the establishment of a world-wide rising level of common education. These are main aspects of the task obviously before us. It is a quite hopeless task unless it is undertaken in a blaze of light. To suppress open discussion, even the discussion of treason and revolution, for some slight or fancied strategic advantage is to sacrifice our end to our means."

There is one other part of the world which is suffering from a news blackout in our Canadian papers. That is India. The Indian Congress party, which controls eight of the eleven provincial governments in British India, has been asking very pointedly about the meaning to India of the British solicitude for democracy and freedom. In a manifesto quoted in the *New Statesman* and *Nation* of September 30 it has declared that if Britain fights for democracy then she must end imperialism and establish full democracy in India. The *New Statesman* supports this demand. "With India as the test, is this a war for democratic freedom, or for empire and the status quo?" Admitting that a new constitution for India cannot be drawn up during the war, it advocates that the Viceroy appoint some of the Congress leaders to his Council and accept their advice after he has appointed them; more than that, let him appoint the Congress leader, Jawaharlal Nehru, as his chief adviser. By making him Premier in fact if not in name, we should not merely win India: we should startle the civilized world into a belief in our sincerity." And the *New*

Statesman concludes: "India, indeed, is the crux. We are on our trial before the whole civilized world. From Washington to Moscow every neutral observer is asking the question that Indians have posed: is this a war for the imperial status quo or for a new democratic world-order? The same question shapes itself in the minds of the German people. Not today, but some months or years hence, the answer it frames on our record may decide the issue of this war. If we dare give India liberty we shall win the leadership of all free peoples. But if we must meet a rebel India with coercion, will anyone in Europe or America mistake us for the champions of democracy?"

They are also very vigorously discussing means as well as ends in England. When Sir John Simon announced his new taxes J. M. Keynes wrote to the *Times* to point out that a reduction from 4% to 3% in the interest rate on the sums which the government would have to borrow would equal the whole proceeds of the new taxation and that a reduction to 2½% would help the Treasury as much as doubling the increases in taxation. Stephen King-Hall in his *News-Letter* of October 6 goes even further. "Pre Great War gentlemen in the world of industry and finance who suppose that they are living in a world in which there is 'a natural rate of interest' are talking through their obsolete top-hats." He would reduce the rate to 2% or even 1½%. "And if savings do not respond to this token payment there will have to be forced loans, and if these become necessary one might as well increase direct taxation and capital levies. In other words, death duties on the living . . . He who wills the end of Hitlerism must will the means."

With this outburst of Mr. King-Hall, however, we have clearly passed over the border line into Utopia. One may rest assured that the right of the investing classes to collect a good rate of interest on government war bonds will last as long as the playing fields of Eton themselves.

Epitaph

Autumn leaves, underfoot,
Crisp but dead in the wind's play,
Fallen because a foolish god
Made leaves that way.
A faint reminiscence of their living
Lingered still—scent giving,
And now rotten.
So will I too, soon be forgotten.

—IDA DE BRUYN.

A Reply to "Black Diamonds"

The Canadian Forum has received from the National Trust Company a protest against that part of the article by "Vigilans" in the September number, entitled Black Diamonds and High Finance, which dealt with the actions of the National Trust Company as Receiver of the Dominion Iron and Steel Company. We print below the major part of a statement in reply to it by Mr. F. R. MacKelcan, K.C., of the Corporate Trust Department of the National Trust Company. We have also received from "Vigilans" a reply to Mr. MacKelcan which because of its length and the detailed nature of the discussion of particular issues we have not room to print. "Vigilans" does not find the answer of the National Trust Company completely satisfactory. But, apart from particular statements which Mr. MacKelcan has challenged, Vigilans' article suggested an interpretation of the position and policy of the National Trust Company as Receiver of the Dominion Iron and Steel Company which, in view of the facts set forth by Mr. MacKelcan, we do not believe to have been justified.

THE article "Black Diamonds and High Finance—A Tale of Nova Scotia" by "Vigilans" in the September 1939 issue of the Canadian Forum, purports to show that the steel business in Nova Scotia, and in particular the business carried on by the Dominion Iron & Steel Company, has played the part of a parasite, drawing its lifeblood from its victim—the coal industry carried on by the Dominion Coal Company. In support of this contention certain facts are alleged in the article in respect of the Consolidated Mortgage Bonds of Dominion Iron and Steel Company, being a Currency Series, guaranteed by Dominion Steel Corporation Limited, amounting to \$4,639,000 and a Sterling Series amounting to \$7,035,253.

The allegations in the article in regard to the termination of the receivership of the Dominion Iron & Steel Company in June 1930 consequent upon the then recently completed reorganization of the British Empire Steel Corporation Limited and of Dominion Steel & Coal Corporation Limited may be summarized as follows:

The Sterling Bonds above referred to "were probably worthless, or nearly so, unless by some means or other their owners could lay their hands on the Coal properties."

The holders of the Currency Bonds above mentioned were "pretty safe" because the Currency Bonds were guaranteed by the Dominion Steel Corporation. This guarantee "ultimately involved a further raid on Coal funds."

"Unless the Sterling Bondholders of Dominion Iron & Steel acted quickly to get control of Coal, they stood to lose most or all of their investments."

The Sterling Bondholders were in a very poor position; their chance of getting anything out of Dominion Iron & Steel was very small. "It was rendered smaller still by the possibility that the Courts would give the Banks prior claim on the movable assets of Dominion Iron & Steel (as in fact Judge Mellish did, by an Order of January 21, 1928)."

The Order of Mr. Justice Mellish of January 21, 1938, giving the Banks priority over the bondholders in regard to the movable assets of Dominion Iron & Steel "seems never to have been carried out; and the Banks seem ultimately to have been paid out of the assets of Dominion Steel Corporation, in flat contradiction to that Order."

"The Sterling Bondholders had in their possession only worthless bonds of Dominion Iron & Steel. They had no claim whatever on Dominion Steel Corporation or Dominion Coal. When it was all over they had in their possession over \$700,000 cash, and debentures (bearing a higher rate of interest) of a new company whose chief asset was its holdings of Dominion Coal."

All the above statements are untrue. The facts are as follows:

On July 1, 1929, the National Trust Company, as Receiver of Dominion Iron & Steel Company Limited, paid off the whole of the \$5,159,000 of First Mortgage Bonds which matured on that date, thus making the Consolidated Bonds of both the Currency and Sterling Series first mortgage securities. The operations of the receivership had been so successful that, notwithstanding the fact that large Capital expenditures had been financed out of liquid assets, the net liquids as of June 30, 1929, amounted to \$8,464,000 after providing for the payment in full of the \$5,159,000 First Mortgage Bonds maturing on the following day and after providing for payment of the full amount of the claims which the Banks contended were entitled to priority over the rights of the bondholders, namely the claims dealt with in the Order of Mr. Justice Mellish above referred to.

At that time, therefore, the position was that the holders of the whole issue of Consolidated Bonds, Sterling and Currency series combined, amounting to \$11,417,546.67, had a first mortgage security upon a highly profitable Steel enterprise in Nova Scotia, in the construction, extension and betterment of which many millions of dollars had been expended, and with \$8,464,-

000 of net liquid assets in its Treasury; and also had a first mortgage upon exceedingly valuable ore properties in Bell Isle, Newfoundland, which were being extensively operated, not only for the purpose of providing ore for the Company's own business in Nova Scotia, but also in the profitable export of large quantities of ore to Great Britain and Europe.

The operations of National Trust Company, as Receiver of Dominion Iron & Steel, extended over annual periods terminating on June 30, in the years 1927 to 1930 inclusive. For these years the net earnings of the receivership, after deducting all manufacturing, selling and administrative expenses, were as follows:

First year	\$1,515,723.49
Second Year	2,198,223.96
Third Year	2,658,407.13
Fourth Year	2,003,291.78

Aggregate	\$8,375,646.36
-----------	----------------

The aggregate interest during these four years upon the funded debt of the Company (namely its First Mortgage Bonds and Consolidated Bonds) amounted to \$3,090,892.01. Therefore, after providing in full for payment of all interest upon the funded debt, the receivership earnings were sufficient to leave a balance for the four year period of \$5,284,754.35 available for provision thereout of proper amounts for depreciation and depletion and thereafter for the credit of the Profit and Loss Account. It will be noticed that this amount is approximately equal to one-half of the face amount of the Consolidated Bonds, which constituted the sole funded debt of the Company at the time of the termination of the receivership, the First Mortgage Bonds having been paid off in the previous year.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in May 1928, during the negotiations which led up to the reorganization of 1930, the Sterling Bondholders' Committee in London, England, refused to consider an offer of 75 flat for the Sterling Bonds. It was also natural that the Sterling Bonds should command a good market, the price rising from 60 flat in January of 1928 to 70 and over in March of that year and later selling at substantially higher prices.

During the four year period of the receivership the Receiver paid the Dominion Coal Company over \$12,000,000 for coal supplied by the latter to the Receiver. The price of the coal so purchased by the Receiver during the initial period of the receivership was fixed by negotiation between the Receiver and Mr. R. M. Wolvin, President of Dominion Coal Company. Contests were proceeding at that time between the Re-

ceiver and Mr. Wolvin in the Courts and otherwise, and these negotiations were conducted at arms length. Mr. Wolvin had as his advisers two eminent experts, Colonel R. H. Montgomery of New York and Mr. Cadwallader Evans of Scranton, Pa., while the National Trust Company was advised by Messrs. R. B. Norris of Wilkes Barre, Pa., and Mr. S. A. Taylor of Pittsburgh, Pa. All four experts concurred in the initial prices established by negotiation with Mr. Wolvin and later with Mr. C. B. McNaught, when the latter succeeded him.

As to the allegation that the Consolidated Bonds, after payment off of the First Mortgage Bonds, were subject to the Banks' prior claim on the movable assets of Dominion Iron and Steel Company, and the suggestion that these claims were paid out of the assets of the Dominion Steel Corporation, the fact is that the moneys required for the payment of the said claims of the Banks were already in the hands of the Banks under the terms of the Order of Mr. Justice Chisholm of July 2, 1926. Therefore, these moneys were merely retained by the Banks upon their right thereto being established and the security for the Consolidated Bonds, after the creation of the said fund in the hands of the Banks, was never subject to any claims by the Banks upon the movable assets of Dominion Iron & Steel Company, nor was any recourse had to assets of the Dominion Steel Corporation for the purpose of paying the said claims.

As to the allegation that the guarantee of the Currency Series by Dominion Steel Corporation ultimately involved a further raid on Coal funds, the facts are as follows:

During the period leading up to the reorganization of 1930 the Dominion Steel Corporation acquired practically all of the Currency Bonds outstanding and paid for them at prices substantially under par. In consequence its guarantee was extinguished, and the Dominion Steel Corporation became the owner of these valuable bonds secured as they were, along with the Sterling Bonds, in the manner aforesaid. In order to raise the moneys required for the purpose of buying these bonds the Dominion Steel Corporation pledged the bonds so purchased with its bankers. Later Dominion Steel & Coal in 1930 acquired all the assets of the Dominion Steel Corporation. The whole Consolidated issue by this time had been exchanged for the new securities of Dominion Steel & Coal, which ultimately procured the return by the Banks of all the bonds so pledged with the Banks.

It is strange indeed that the statement should be made that the Sterling Bondholders made an

investment in the Steel enterprise which was only saved for them by obtaining the protection of the Coal enterprise. The fact is that practically the whole of the proceeds of the Sterling Bonds was invested in the Coal enterprise. Initially \$5,000,000 cash, being part of the proceeds of the sale of the issue of the Sterling Bonds, was used to acquire one-third of the Capital Stock of the Dominion Coal Company. As a result of the formation of Dominion Steel Corporation and later of British Empire Steel Corporation this capital Stock, which was part of the security for the Sterling Bonds, had become converted into some \$6,000,000 par value of B. Preference Shares of the British Empire Steel Corporation and Shares of its Common Stock. In the years preceding the reorganization and at the time of the reorganization in 1930 the total value of these Shares was only a few hundred thousand dollars, so that the investment which was made in the Coal enterprise represented a loss of some millions of dollars, which, however, the Sterling Bondholders did not have to sustain, because their bonds had adequate security in the assets and earning of the Steel enterprise.

Furthermore Dominion Iron & Steel commencing in 1922 made cash advances to the Dominion Coal Company out of the proceeds of the issues of further Consolidated Bonds. As of June 30, 1926, the amount owing by the Dominion Coal Company to Dominion Iron & Steel for principal and interest in respect of these advances aggregated \$1,616,752.86. For a considerable time during the receivership the Receiver, in order to help out the liquid position of the Dominion Coal Company, refrained from recouping itself the amount of this indebtedness of the Dominion Coal Company and paid in full in cash for the coal supplied to the Receiver by the Dominion Coal Company. As a result of the extension of time given by the Receiver to the Dominion Coal Company for the payment of its indebtedness, the aggregate thereof for principal and interest reached the sum of \$1,977,958.84 before it was finally paid off.

Song of the Evening

On beholding the pointed moon and one pointed
star
shivering above raven pines
set up for the night like spears
against the ice of the grey-walled sky . . .
while, to our inward cry, mysterious hedges and
fences
sink in a lake-like phosphorus glow of fallow and
meadow . . .

(only sound in the voiceless pallor of grey hollow
heaven
a cricket remotely casting his faintly striking
net . . .)
sensing all these — we human creatures — on
smooth receptacle of round cheek and body
along with sea breeze laving hay and wild rose —
I ask you —
Of what value is dressing and rushing, insisting
and concerning?
Better be a black-bellied beast with crystal eyes
crying and crouching in the canopied fields
tonight

—CARLO ELY HARPER.

November Beach

With swoop of open chase
Wide wings move free
And gloom is soft embrace
By verge-dark sea.

With rush of mingled shapes,
As bare gusts rave,
My weighted soul escapes
In snow-dimmed wave.
There can be crashing roars
On warm, still fleece,
And screams from calm indoors . . .
No walls make peace.

—ALAN CREIGHTON.

The Arbutus Tree

This tree is a branching coral
Thrust in an emerald sea
Whose enamelled drops break floral,
Foam in a creamy surge;
Whose berries will fruit like cornelian
When leaves drift a dry sea-dirge.

Strong is this grasping anchor
And stiff the advancing stem,
These twigs will snap without rancour
When their sap shall cease to run;
When apple-green skin turns to driftwood
On the beach of the summer sun.

Oh, well if we grew as firmly,
Shedding as fragrant deeds,
With soft new growth as termly,
White horses of laughter and light;
With honey to sweeten the burden
The scarlet of autumn makes bright.

—MARGARET M. HINCKS.

The Constitution and the War

F. R. SCOTT

THE outbreak of war has brought certain parts of our constitution into sudden prominence. For years the central government has been hampered at every turn by its constitutional inability to get things done. We have grown accustomed to federal inaction, and in fairness we had to place some of the blame on the B.N.A. Act. Now the situation has radically altered. Ottawa is the scene of intense activity. National planning, long urged in vain by progressive groups, is being undertaken on a vast scale. And the B.N.A. Act is no longer in the way. We have a system of government that makes it lawful for the Dominion parliament to direct all the resources of the nation to the waging of a war in Europe, but unlawful for it to use the same resources for the elimination of unemployment or the building of a better social order in time of peace. Legally speaking, for purposes of peace we are weak and divided, for warfare we are strong and united. It seems easier to kill foreigners than to help citizens under the Canadian constitution.

Hence Mr. Duplessis' complaint that the War Measures Act infringes the autonomy of the provinces is a criticism of Dominion policy and not an assertion of legal right. If he thought any particular measures were illegal he would still have access to the courts, and could destroy the unconstitutional provisions without resorting to an election. The fact is that the provinces have no rights as strong as the Dominion's residuary and defence powers in wartime.

This war has also shown us how correct was the view that the absence of a clear right to neutrality prior to the outbreak of hostilities confused the whole issue which had to be faced last September. The purpose of Mr. Thorson's Bill, introduced in Parliament last January, was to make it clear that a declaration of war by Canada would be required before any state of belligerency could be created in this country. Mr. King saw to it that the Bill was not adopted. Hence when Great Britain declared war on September 3, nobody knew—except apparently the military authorities, who had begun recruiting as though there was an automatic belligerency—whether we were at war or not. Mr. King's own statements were at first consistent with either interpretation; some of his acts, however, such as the issuance of orders-in-council regarding "enemy" aliens, and trading with the "enemy", which

antedated the meeting of the Canadian Parliament, were inconsistent with the view that Canada was deciding the question of war for herself. Dr. Manion in his speech on September 8th assumed that Canada was already at war. This confusion prevented any clear alignment of forces for or against the war, and tended to make discussion confine itself to the question of the extent of participation. The constitutional ties thus weighed heavily on the side of participation.

This would seem, however, to be the last occasion on which such colonialism and confusion is likely to exist. For the ultimate declaration of war by His Majesty on behalf of Canada, which dates from September 10th (one day after the adoption of the speech from the throne) is probably a sufficient notice to the outside world that Canada now intends to control for herself the issues of war and peace. The United States has recognized our independence by withholding the application of the arms embargo till that date, and Germany too was naturally careful to avoid treating us as a belligerent so long as neutrality was in doubt. The German consul in Montreal, between September 3rd and 10th, protested the arrest of German nationals before any notification of a state of war had been received from either Berlin or Ottawa. Our right to neutrality, paradoxically enough, was thus most clearly asserted by our declaration of war. Coupled with Ireland's continuing neutrality, this example illustrates the principle that the present Commonwealth admits of differing policies even in the event of war; for no one would argue that Canada was not a member of the Commonwealth from September 3rd to 10th, any more than they could hold that Ireland has now seceded. The first world war gave us Dominion status; the second has given us national status.

Another factor was apparent during the early days of September which hampered a free and democratic choice of policy. This was the early and quite unwarranted application of the War Measures Act. How can a country freely decide through its Parliament what course it should follow in a crisis when, before the people's elected representatives meet, the Cabinet introduces a host of measures which place the country on a war footing? The first steps taken by Mr. King were not the summoning of Parliament and the request for approval of a war policy then stated;

the first steps were mobilization, censorship, internment of enemies, and other belligerent or quasi-belligerent acts. The whole machinery of participation was in motion before Parliament began its debate.

Consider the effect of the censorship. Nothing as severe as the present censorship regulations was found in Canada during the last war until the Consolidated Censorship Regulations of 17th January, 1917. Yet for this war censorship was invoked prior to the meeting of Parliament to decide on policy. Thus the law made it a crime to say anything likely to prejudice recruiting, or likely to interfere with the success of His Majesty's forces or of the allied forces, at a time when the issue to be decided "freely" by Canadians was whether they should participate in the war or not. To urge 100% participation was lawful; to urge neutrality was apparently criminal. This is an odd form of freedom of choice.

The censorship was all the more superfluous because a large majority in favour of participation would undoubtedly have existed even without these restraints on those opposed to the war. Mr. Duplessis' appeal in the Quebec elections would have lost much of its force if there had been less hasty action in the first week of September, since the early introduction of censorship gave weight to his contention that the people had no chance to express themselves. National unity was thus endangered by the departure from democratic methods.

Another striking characteristic of Canada's conduct of this war is the very small part allotted to Parliament. In England it is otherwise; there the Prime Minister is constantly meeting the House, and war measures and policy receive the frequent attention and criticism of all parties. In Canada, precisely six days have so far been devoted by our M.P.'s to a consideration of questions as momentous as any in our history. Clearly Parliament does not get in the way of an effective prosecution of the war in England; why should it in Canada, three thousand miles further away from hostilities? The major decision of a Canadian expeditionary force, the size of that force and the date of its departure, have all been taken without consultation with the people's representatives. Mr. King made it plain on September 8th that his government would give the "fullest examination" to this question, and pointed out that Australia "had not yet seriously considered despatching an expeditionary force overseas", and that she was "making the same general approach to the consideration of this prob-

lem as the government of Canada". Yet a few days after proroguing Parliament an expeditionary force is announced! Surely it would be wiser to observe the forms of democracy a little more closely if we intend to impress the outside world, and our own population, with the democratic purpose of the war.

O CANADA!

(A prize of \$1.00, or a six months' subscription to The Canadian Forum, is given for the first cutting in this column. Original cuttings should be sent with name and date of paper).

"Chief Nazi Censor"

"Ottawa, Sept. 23.—F. E. Joliffe, assistant director of administrative services of the Post Office Department, today was named chief mail censor for Canada."

(From The Daily Gleaner of Fredericton issue of 23rd September, 1939)

"A bathroom shower was held at the home of Mrs. C. G. Whidden Wednesday evening, in honor of Miss Ida Cooke whose marriage to Mr. J. Sims took place Saturday."

(From the Winnipeg Tribune, issue of 30th September, 1939).

"The recent international Chamber of Commerce convention at Copenhagen passed a resolution favoring a "plan of adjustment" to share world resources among all nations, but Canadian delegate R. P. Jellett . . . called the resolution "one of those idealistic things which do not bear the test of the application of common sense."

(From the Gazette of Montreal, issues of 20th September 1939)

"Mr. Duplessis had refused to make use of the radio in the campaign because of the censorship. Mr. Lapointe recalled. "He says the censors are friends of mine, but I can assure you that the censors appointed are not politicians, but men of integrity," said Mr. Lapointe.

(From The Globe and Mail, issue of 20th October, 1939).

"One wonders how seriously to take the utterances of a stunt flyer turned political gigolo when they come over a national chain of United States radio stations. It is to the credit of 'One-Way Corrigan' that he, at least, apparently believes a shoemaker should stick to his last."

(From The Globe and Mail, Toronto, issue of 16th October, 1939, being the opening words of an editorial entitled "Col. Lindbergh's Democracy.")

" . . . from that day to this the defense purchasing board has done its very best to place contracts on that basis (5% profit on the capital utilised) and has used every pressure that could be brought to bear in the form of patriotism and so on, but to date it has not succeeded in placing a single contract on that basis."

(Hon. C. D. Howe, as reported in Hansard for the Special War Session of Parliament, page 197, Tuesday, 12th September, 1939).

(The prize this month goes to Mr. R. H. Wright, 659 Aberdeen Street, Fredericton, N.B.)

Freedom and War

G. M. A. GRUBE

WAR, by its very nature, tends towards repression, rouses primitive passions and thus creates an atmosphere in which reasonableness, free discussion and a spirit of toleration are difficult to maintain. War is therefore a dangerous weapon for democracy to use, even in its own defence. This does not prove that democracies should not go to war under any circumstances whatever, for men use dangerous instruments and weapons every day. But, if they are to survive in doing so, they must be fully alive to the dangerous potentialities of their instruments, and learn to control them. So democracy must learn to control the passions of Mars, to examine carefully the claims he inevitably makes for the restriction of liberty, and vigorously withstand such claims where they are not justified.

If it is true that vital democratic rights must be surrendered in a crisis, then let us be honest and admit that democracy, instead of being the best system of government yet devised by the mind of man, is only a luxury which, like all luxuries, must be given up whenever times are hard. This I do not believe. The restrictions required by war are essentially the same as are accepted in peace: the state always takes the measures it deems necessary to preserve the secrecy of its military weapons and plans, and to protect its public utilities and industrial plants; in war time the risks of sabotage and espionage are much greater and the precautions must be correspondingly increased. Similarly in time of peace the state does not tolerate direct incitement to violence; when passions run very high violence is more probable, and greater care and restraint may reasonably be required from the subject. A tightening up of such peace time precautions against both kinds of offence does not imply any surrender of civil liberties, as long as the law is used only against those against whom it is intended.

Misdirection and abuse of such legal precautions is of course only too likely in war-time. This presents a serious danger to the proper functioning of democracy and must be resisted, but abuse of the law can be proved to be such, and one may hope that such abuse, the danger of which also exists in peace time, may return to normal proportions when heated passions cool down.

What is more disturbing is that, as soon as war is declared and even before, governments have a way of taking unto themselves vague and un-

defined powers that are nothing short of dictatorial. The War Measures Act, for instance, gives the Governor General in Council, that is the Cabinet, authority to issue orders in Council and regulations on anything it may "deem necessary or advisable for the security, peace, order and welfare of Canada", and some of the regulations already in force are almost as wide in scope. One wonders why Parliament should thus depute its supreme powers (the Act, by the way, dates from 1914 and was merely reinvoked in 1939). The British House, be it noted, has done nothing of the kind. It has been in permanent session since the beginning of hostilities, and has voted on the various war measures required. Miss Ellen Wilkinson, M.P. made some pertinent remarks in this connection:

"Some M.P.'s have been impatient about all this work being done by Parliamentary Bills instead of doing it by regulation. But regulations are not open to criticism. It is important that when bills affecting the intimate life of every citizen are being rushed through Parliament, they should have at least a rapid scrutiny by the elected representatives of those citizens. The House of Commons has done a good job under great difficulties. Left to itself without scrutiny, the official mind might have restricted liberties of the ordinary citizen beyond anything that was really necessary in a situation where everyone is ready to be helpful."

In Canada the official mind seems to have done precisely that. Geographical considerations may make a permanent session difficult in this country, but there is no sound reason why Parliament should have adjourned after a week, and should not be reconvened for four months. Our government was surely not in so much greater a hurry to get on with the war than the British government? Parliament should sit more often during the war, and when it does meet it should use its overriding powers to insist on at least a brief consideration of the orders in council and regulations now in force, and make amendments where deemed necessary.

Many people feel that the extent of these vague powers and regulations is not so important because they believe that Mr. King and his colleagues honestly desire to preserve as much liberty and democracy in this country as they can during the war. I believe this too. But let us remember that, although it is the Federal Government that makes these regulations, the administration of them will very largely be in the hands of the local and provincial authorities, and prosecutions under them will be judged in local

courts. In fact the Federal Government is putting these vague and very wide powers in the hands of others, in whose wisdom, restraint and love of liberty we may not feel the same confidence. Further, governments do not last for ever, and their good intentions are not always inherited by their successors, while their powers are.

Nor do these regulations receive the same publicity as the proceedings of Parliament, and publicity remains the shield of democracy. Copies of the Defence of Canada regulations are as a matter of fact hard to get even today, and prosecutions were actually taking place under certain sections before anyone knew the letter, let alone the spirit, of the law. It is an old democratic principle that the law should be available and intelligible to the citizens. These undefined powers are neither. It is also an old democratic principle that men should not be arrested without charge or kept in custody indefinitely without trial. The Minister of Justice now has the power to do both on the ground of suspicion alone.

All this puts weapons in the hands of those who would like to suppress every form of criticism, however legitimate and however necessary. A man may be prosecuted and sentenced to months of imprisonment, quite legally, merely for having in his possession even a letter containing "any adverse or unfavourable statement, report or opinion likely to prejudice the defence of Canada or the efficient prosecution of the war." Any criticism of government policy, of the budget for instance, could reasonably be argued to come under that, and it could be maintained that any adverse news-report, of the sinking of the Royal Oak for example, did likewise. By the same token, many a recent editorial about Russia in our most "loyal" newspapers could, it seems to me, be thought "likely" to "prejudice His Majesty's relations with foreign powers"! Were such regulations used to the full, it is obvious that all opposition could be suppressed. No distinction is drawn between public speeches and private conversations. In Ontario, several people have already been prosecuted for clearly silly remarks made in beer parlours, and an Ontario magistrate has seen fit to advise that it is everybody's patriotic duty to report any such "disloyal" statements, wherever made.

Seen in this light, these regulations open up most disconcerting visions of often foolish but sometimes vicious informers keeping their ears open for any expression of opinion contrary to government policy—visions of things which we have hitherto associated with the dictatorships and for which we democrats have had a well-

founded contempt. Let me repeat that I am well aware that the Federal Government does not intend to make use of these regulations in this manner. But others may. Why have them then? They are both unnecessary and dangerous. Freedom of criticism is essential, in war as in peace. Indeed it is sometimes necessary to change governments in war time—Britain found it so in the last war—and this cannot be done in accordance with the people's wishes unless democratic rights are preserved. In any case, there are too many people ready to greet the sanest criticism with accusations of disloyalty. They should not be thus encouraged.

And there is yet another danger in all this. It is not only that liberties once lost are hard to recover. This longer view may seem academic where victory is the overridingly urgent aim. On the short view also, however, I believe that it is a profound psychological error to adopt dictatorial measures, or measures potentially so, at the very time that men are asked to wage war against dictatorship abroad. In these days of totalitarian war the morale, not only of the armies but of the civilian populations is supremely important. Morale is never improved by repression, and minorities are dangerous only when denied expression and driven underground. We all know, and we are told on all sides, that Germany's great weakness is precisely that her citizens are denied all freedom and regimented against their will, that they cannot speak their mind for fear of spies. Men will never fight for a regime as they will fight for an idea. If our idea is democracy, then let us practice it.

Is it not strange that, while we pin our hopes to the collapse of a repressive system, so many of us should be ready to follow, even though at some distance, on this very road to repression? Liberty has never lost a war. In England, now as in the last war, there is far more criticism not only of government departments but of the very war policy itself, than many Canadian authorities would think healthy or allow. They are wrong. Such freedom will help victory, not hinder it; yes and even greater freedom would help even more. If we look back to the only democracy of antiquity we find, in ancient Athens, the most virulent criticism not only of political leaders but of the war itself, even on the public stage. Such things we admire, but dare not imitate. Modern democracy is a new thing, and in times of crisis we show an atavistic tendency to return to the caveman's club. Or at least to make sure that the club is available when we may feel like using it.

We should frankly recognize that Nazism and

Fascism are but an extreme and pathological form of diseases, which affect, in a milder form, every body politic. War brings the tendency to brutal repression to the surface, yes and racial hostilities and anti-semitism also. These are in-

sidious and rapid poisons. Let us beware of encouraging them; they are far more prejudicial to democracy, to the community's morale, and even to the "efficient prosecution of the war" than any amount of criticism and disagreement, however fundamental.

Please Profiteer!

RUFUS II.

CANADA'S first war-time budget was certainly typical of the present Liberal government. It was preceded by a fanfare of publicity calculated to give the people of Canada the impression that great and noble action was forthcoming. The keynote was "equality of sacrifice." After the skilful way in which the government handled Canadian participation, people were led to believe that there would be an attempt to ensure equality of sacrifice. But the keynote of the budget was "Please profiteer," cloaked in, it must be admitted, fewer high-sounding phrases than usual.

It is difficult to analyse the budget without losing one's temper, an account of the advance publicity already mentioned. Far from any attempt being made to ensure equality of sacrifice, the budget is drafted to encourage the making of profits out of the war.

By now, everyone is familiar with the taxes that have been placed on the consumer. Drinking of any sort is to cost more, tea, coffee, beer, whisky, wine, soft drinks, the taxes on all these have been upped. Sales tax of eight per cent has been imposed on canned fish, salted and smoked meats and gas and electricity for domestic purposes. And for the two per cent of the population that pays income tax the rate has been increased by twenty per cent.

Now we come to the taxes that have been placed on industry. Below there is a table which shows in concrete figures the proportion of war profits that companies are going to be able to retain.

First (Plan A in table), on the excess profits that a company makes over the average profits of the last four years, fifty per cent will be taken by the government, after ordinary corporation income tax has been allowed as an expense. This ordinary corporation income tax has been increased from fifteen to eighteen per cent in the case of companies not consolidating and from seventeen per cent to twenty per cent in the case of holding companies which consolidate their profits and losses.

Secondly (Plan B) companies are to be taxed on a sliding scale on the basis of return on capital—no excess tax on profits up to five per cent; ten per cent on profits between five and ten per cent; fifteen per cent on profits between ten and fifteen per cent; thirty per cent on profits between fifteen and twenty per cent; forty per cent on profits between twenty and twenty-five per cent; sixty per cent on all profits in excess of twenty-five per cent.

A company can choose if it will be taxed under the first or second scale of taxes (Plan A or B). The first scheme, a flat fifty per cent on excess profits is simple enough. But why should companies, which are collections of individuals, mostly wealthy, be allowed to keep half of the extra profits that are made out of the horrors of a war, which entails acute suffering on the part of a large proportion of the men, women and children of countries engaged in fighting? In order to prevent dislocation of our present system, which only seems to function in top gear when engaged in destruction of life and property, there is at least an argument for leaving the companies ten per cent of the excess but no argument for leaving them with more than forty per cent after the deduction of all taxes.

But it is really the second scale of taxes that must stink in the nostrils of every decent Canadian who is not blinded by prejudice or self interest. This second scheme was drafted according to the Acting Minister of Finance so as not to penalize those sections of Canadian industry that have failed to show a profit in the last four years—in other words, those industries which have been unable to make a profit in peacetime and can only make profits out of war conditions.

These are the companies that are going to be especially encouraged to profiteer. However it is not only these companies that are going to elect to be taxed under this second scheme, but practically all companies that make greatly increased profits out of war since the taxation is so much lighter under this sliding scale than under Plan A.

In fact it will be seen from the table that a company making thirty per cent on its capital due to war time (allowing it a peacetime rate up to five per cent) can retain sixty-three per cent of this profit after the deduction of not only the excess profits tax but also the ordinary corporation tax. If the table is examined it will be seen that it is certainly to the advantage of a company earning ten per cent in peace time (few companies earn much more than this on the book value of their capital in peace time) and making excess increased profits during the war, to elect to be taxed under Plan B. For if it doubles its profits and makes twenty per cent under Plan A (tax of fifty per cent on excess profits), it will retain forty-seven per cent, while under Plan B it will retain sixty-two per cent.

None of this taxation on companies will come into effect this year. The new taxation is for the year 1940 and consequently the companies will not have to pay until the first part of 1941, but meanwhile the consumer has to face the general rise in prices, in particular on those items already mentioned on which the new taxes are already in effect.

But if it is possible to believe, worse is to follow, as there are two jokers in the pack that will allow companies to make an even better thing out of the war than the table below shows. First, the Minister announced that on war contracts special rates of depreciation and amortisation would be allowed those companies that have to undertake capital construction to fulfil government contracts. It is intended that these companies will be able to "amortize their costs over a reasonable period." At the best they will certainly be allowed to charge, as part of their cost, unusually heavy rates of depreciation; at the worst they will be able to make the government, i.e. the Canadian people, pay for the cost of their new plants during the course of the war.

In an article in next month's Canadian Forum, it will be shown how the taxes could have been introduced to ensure a more equitable sacrifice, not by adopting any radical methods but by merely following the example of the English wartime budget.

Secondly, in the budget speech last year, the Minister of Finance, hoping to encourage capital expenditure said that ten per cent of the cost of new capital construction between May 1938 and May 1939 could be deducted from the income tax to be paid over the next six years, on the first three taxable periods. In all fairness, war was

not envisaged at the time; but as things are today, new capital construction, owing to the war, will permit companies to avoid paying a very substantial part of their income tax. There will be no equality of sacrifice under this Canadian budget, only a heightening of the inequality of opportunity to profiteer out of the war.

Schedule showing the proportion of War Profits accruing to Companies after deduction of all existing Federal Taxes (2) including New Excess War Profits Taxes (3). Percentages are shown for various returns on Capital.

Percentage Rate of Profit on Capital	Percentage of War Profits Retained by Co. under Plan A (1)	Percentage of War Profits Retained by Co. Under Plan B if Peacetime Earnings Are			Percentage of Profits Retained by Co. Prior to War (4)
		Nil	5%	10% (5)	
5	—	82	—	—	85
10	—	79	73	—	85
15	53	76	72	59	85
20	47	74	71	62	85
25	45	70	66	60	85
30	44	67	63	58	85

1. Average profits in this example have been fixed at 10%.
2. There is Provincial Corporation Tax varying from 1% to 2½%.
3. Federal Corporation Income Tax has been calculated at 18%; holding companies that consolidated profits and losses of subsidiary companies pay 20%.
4. Corporation Income Tax prior to the war was 15% for ordinary companies, 17% for holding companies.
5. A tax under plan B of 10% on profits between 5 and 10% is levied under this plan irrespective of peace time profits.

Think Not of Swelling Drums

Think not of swelling drums,
But moments of despair,—
That when your time for testing comes
The fiends of hell are there.

And you shall know black fear,
And ecstasy of grief,
That anguish of the mind from which
Death only brings relief.

Think not of swelling drums,
The glittering garb of hell;
The rotting hand beneath the robe
Shall ring your passing-bell.

—WINNIFRED A. HILLIER.

God, Inc. Gets the Ads

ALAN GREY

IN order to unify with the principles of Father Divine we wish to change our ticket system Wednesday, and would ask you to kindly get your ticket at the counter before eating. As it was found that the 20 cent ticket was not endorsed by Father Divine we would ask you to please get a separate 5 cent ticket if dessert is desired. Your kind co-operation in this matter will be appreciated. Thank You, Father."

Reading of this direction was gently interrupted by the voice of Sister Peaceful, presiding angel of the Father Divine Peace Restaurant—Lunches Put Up To Take Out, in Winnipeg. I had a lunch put up to take out, two egg sandwiches on brown totalling ten cents, then set about reading the New Day, "a commercial weekly magazine published every Thursday in New York City."

Principal editorial contents of the New Day are full texts of twelve addresses by Father Divine, chiefly at various Banquet Tables; the complete text of the Declaration of Independence; and an auto map of Routes to the Promised Land, Ulster Co., New York. There is also a 300-word summary of world news of the week.

This organ of "Rev. M. J. Divine (better known as Father Divine)" has 441 advertisements—exclusive of house ads—taking up 31 pages. With two exceptions, every advertisement contains the word PEACE, and a great many Thank You, FATHER, as well. The two exceptions are the Rival Hat Shop, understandably, and Herbert's the Home of Blue White Diamonds.

Most of the ads are small, but they total up. Best-known advertiser is probably F. W. Woolworth Co., with one general ad and another for a W. 125th St. shop; both headed PEACE. Fuller Brush Co. gets its phone number in first, PEACE second. Enna Jettick Shoes are in with a smart design, headed PEACE—We Thank You, FATHER. Glidden, the World's Largest Buick Dealer, has a quarter-page spread. Although Father Divine's personal patronage goes to Rolls Royce, West End Auto Service advertises: "Specialize in Packards. Special Attention to Father's Followers." Hearts Paper Co. momentarily suggests the still-remembered William Randolph.

One firm capitalizes neatly on Father Divine's slogan by advertising: PEACE Marco Dog Food Cat Food It is Wonderful. A shoe firm cries: PEACE: If Your Feet Hurt. Many shops have incorporated the magic word into their names,

but two, one below the other, catch the eye particularly: The Divine Peace Mission Hat Shop, Also Dresses Made to Order. Come one, come all, and partake of these Wonderful Blessings. We carry the best, sell cheaper than elsewhere; and CONTINUALLY THANK YOU FATHER—Full Line of Fresh Vegetables and Nice Fresh Fruits. Then there is the PEACE DEPARTMENT STORE: Everything to Wear for Men, Women and Children at the In Father's Mind and Spirit Lowest Prices. Determined not to be outdone is PEACEFUL PEACE: Fresh Fruits Fresh Vegetables. COOPERATIVE PEACE, a grocery store, offers in its title a novel suggestion to international conferenciers. A note of anguish ended, serenity achieved is introduced by PEACE—Thank You, FATHER—Henry W. Payne, Undertaker.

Biblical names are less frequent than might be expected, but there are Jesus Pombo, Electrical Shoe Repairing; Job Moses, All Kinds of Fresh Fish Daily; Isaac Peace and Elijah Well, Cooperative Fish Market. Angel Cleaners and Dyers vie with the Divine Dress Shop: Ladies' and Gents' Clothing Sold in Father's Mind and Spirit. The latter rashly admits that "It is more blessed to give than to receive." D. E. Garner, across the page, after opening, "We Thank Thee, Everlasting Father, Almighty GOD," promises "Painting and Paper Hanging in Father's Mind and Spirit."

Most generally interesting of the house announcements is that of Father Divine's employment service, gratis to all readers of the New Day. It offers to secure positions for workers of many kinds, including chauffeurs and chauffeuses.

A unique and fascinating feature of the New Day is its backstage tour with advertising solicitors. One, known as Blessed Mary, reports of Bernard Nash Furriers: "Mr. Nash was harmonious in his attitude and after discussing rates he decided to take a half page. He signed a 13-week contract." Dr. Shapero, dentist, likewise "co-operated harmoniously and took a 13-week contract." Of the Fanny Farmer Candy Co., however, Blessed Mary reports, in part: "I told him that men of business are giving much thought to the movement which 'The New Day' is representing and it is not to be taken casually as he seemed to be doing. He said, 'Oh yes; we give it thought all right, but it is our principle not to

advertise in magazines.' He did not consider advertising."

R. Israel, another solicitor, quotes Mr. Freedman, of Freedman Real Estate, Brooklyn, as exclaiming of Father Divine, "If I had this fellow for a salesman, boy, things would be prosperous. Yes, sir! HE is all right. Well, business is down here—I will take your card—if things pick up a little I will call you. I heard about the property HE bought over here in Brooklyn—I am sorry but I have no money to spend now. Peace." Brother Israel got quite bewildered, however, during his pursuit of Mr. Porter of Flanagan Jewelry Store, who said first, "Yes, I will take a 13-week contract . . . Now you have five days a week to collect—don't come here on Saturday. Come on Monday." The solicitor relates, "I called on Monday at 5 p.m. The girls said Mr. Porter was out; I returned at 7.30 p.m. She said he had not returned. Then I waited for him and when Mr. Porter came in the girl told him that I had been there three times within the last half hour. Mr. Porter said, 'Get out and don't say anything to me—get out of here—if you don't, I will put you out. Come back tomorrow.' On Tuesday, I returned. Mr. Porter said, 'Don't come in here—I am busy, come back Friday or take that ad out. Come back Friday.' I returned Friday—Mr. Porter paid for his ad. We THANK YOU FATHER FOR EVERY BLESSING."

Brother Israel also tells how Mrs. Levy of Brooklyn remarked, "My husband is working over at FATHER DIVINE'S new home—my husband just got through smoking. He said the Brothers do not allow any smoking over there—I wish he could work there all the time because he smokes too much . . . I am glad to read this book because I will not read about any murders or holdups. We will sign a 13-week alternate contract."

Ad solicitor Arthur Hartley of Chicago reports that the manager of a 47th St. Woolworth store "said the ad in 'The New Day' covered all stores. He was very harmonious. He is peeved at the Good Luck Shoe Store, across the street. 'Wouldn't read 'The New Day'—didn't want to talk—was very mean," he reports. The Club Store, nearby, "wouldn't buy 'The New Day' but talked nice." Hat Shop on E. 43rd St. "Was in harmony—will call back to see her."

Brother Hartley ran into a couple of mysteries.

The permanent collection of the
ART GALLERY OF TORONTO

and historic Grange House are on view daily from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. Sundays 2 to 5 p.m. Admission 25c. Saturday and Sunday free. Take Harbord or Dundas car to Beverley

Barber Shop, on E. 61st St., "wouldn't buy a 'New Day' and wouldn't give his name—the shop had no name." A. I. Dental Factory "wouldn't take the 'New Day' and wouldn't advertise. Said the boss was out. I told him why I was up there—it was because the Boston dentist refused to pull teeth for a certain group of people at 63rd St. and Cottage Grove Ave., but would do their work at 47th and South Park Ave., and I wanted him to cooperate but he was somewhat antagonistic. However, he said to come back. I gave the 'New Day' to the office girl."

Another interesting department, "Righteousness!—Marches On!" consists of testimonials to Father Divine's reformation work, and his replies. Gimbel Bros., Philadelphia, writes that Isaac Bemery Spirit Happy Light has settled an old account of \$13.75. Father Divine replies with a small sermon, concluding with his standard formula for winding up such letters: "Thus, wishing you success, desiring that you might be a partaker of the reality of MY Spirit and MY mind and be even as I AM, this leaves ME well, Healthy, Joyful, Peaceful, Lively, Loving, Successful, Prosperous and Happy in Spirit, Body and Mind and in every organ, muscle, sinew, joint, limb, vein and bone and even in every atom, fibre and cell of MY bodily form."

Respectfully and Sincere, I AM

Rev. M. J. DIVINE.

MJD.r (Better known as FATHER DIVINE)".

The Chicago Association of Commerce writes to compliment the Father on his spiritual uplift in the case of one Habakkuk Snow White of W. 126th St.; Castle Jewelry Co. of Brooklyn states that John Righteousness, formerly William Williams, confessed and paid an obligation of \$60; and May Faithful, formerly known as Crew, is credited with repaying \$69.55 in relief to Portage County.

What lies behind this strange concatenation of commerce and conversion? Father Divine sums it up pithily in these words, uttered at the Banquet Table, Artists' Colony, Milton on the Hudson, The Promised Land: "As I have often said, there are those who may find some few words in their vocabularies—I mean from an intellectual point of view—they try to hoard up for themselves intellectually some words for themselves and for their own vocabulary, refusing to release such information as I may have given them. They cannot advance intellectually continually because such a mind is an expression of retardation of which will cause your advances to be retarded instead of your information and your understanding to advance more scientific-



TWO DRAWINGS

By Geoffrey Lea



ally and more intelligently and intellectually by expression.

"Things cease to function for the lack of expression. It is the same as the negative conditions that may be existing within you. As I have often said, 'Such kind cometh out with fasting and with prayer.' If you do not allow the negative to express within you, it will wane of its own abnormal weight, or cease to express for the lack of expression. That is the mystery."

Father, you said it!

Shakespeare: Script Writer

W. S. Milne

IF Shakespeare were alive today, he would almost certainly be writing for the movies. None of his plays has as yet been worthily translated into filmic form, because it does not seem to have occurred to those responsible that Shakespeare was a skilled scenario-writer three hundred years before the movies were invented. The dreadfully literal cellophane fantasy of Reinhardt's "Dream", or the over-stuffed opulence of "Romeo and Juliet" (with dialogue by W. Shakespeare) have rather turned us away from asking for Shakespeare on the screen, yet I am convinced that all would be well, and more than well, if a very simple formula were followed. Let Shakespeare be his own scenario writer. Go back to the Elizabethan technique for inspiration, instead of to the over-staged mutilated-text presentations of the nineteenth-century exhibitionists, Irving, Tree, and their followers.

Take *Macbeth*, for example. See how photographically practicable it is as it stands. Note the atmospheric prologue, the alternation of short powerful scenes up to the end of the second act, with frequent shift of setting and mood, but with no solution of continuity. Note particularly the last act, with its admirable montage of battle-scenes. The modern technique of short-cutting, for which Griffith deserves the credit that generally goes to the Russians, is perfectly followed by Shakespeare. Start at the beginning of the fourth act, and consider it scene by scene. There is the witches' cavern, flickering fire, dun vapour rising from the charmed pot, a chiaroscuro to delight the heart of a pictorial producer. *Macbeth* appears. There is the business of the apparitions, the procession of phantom kings which might have been written for the movies. While *Macbeth* is still trembling, and cursing in his fear, word comes that *Macduff*, of whom he had been warned by the witches, has fled to England. The scene ends with his resolve to put *Macduff's*

family to the sword. On the Elizabethan stage, this scene is followed, without a pause, by one showing *Lady Macduff* peacefully chatting with her young son, incredulous of the warnings of *Ross* and the unknown messenger. On the modern stage, either there is a wait of several minutes while the cavern is replaced by a castle, or else the scene is omitted altogether. The films could give us the contrast perfectly and instantaneously. Then follows a scene showing *Macduff* in England, unaware of what has happened to his wife and children, unprepared for it. The tremendous suspense of this scene can be realized only if it follows hard upon that of the murder. No sooner do we see matters of revenge in train than the scene shifts to a moonlit dim corridor of *Macbeth's* castle. The doctor and a gentlewoman watch *Lady Macbeth's* tormented soul laid bare. It ends on a hushed note of horror and anticipation, but the doctor's words have scarcely died away before we hear martial music, and see the rebellious thanes gathering to join the invading army. Then we are shown *Macbeth* within his castle, nerves on edge, waiting. The scene shifts to the meeting of the rebel leaders and the invaders at Birnam, and the camouflaging of the troops with branches. Then we see *Macbeth* on the ramparts, directing the defense, in a moment to sweep away all his strategy at the horror of that moving wood, surely a magnificent film spectacle. There is a short scene of the attacking army, a close-up of *Macbeth* fighting and killing young *Siward*, a glimpse of *Macduff*, another close-up of old *Siward* congratulating *Malcolm* on the victory, ignorant of his son's death. Then comes the meeting between *Macbeth* and *Macduff*, *Macbeth's* death, and the triumph of *Malcolm* on the battlefield. None of the scenes is long. It is the swift alternation of carefully selected glimpses of the combat that gives dramatic force and pace to the unfolding. And this is essentially the method of the film.

Let the settings be as elaborate as the producer please, although they are not as important as most producers seem to think. In two particulars the screen has a tremendous advantage over the stage: mobility and scale. The high castle walls and endless stair of *Lady Macbeth's* sleepwalking can be adequately realised only on the screen. But the producers will go on piling up sets—and production costs—succumbing to the obvious temptation to be spectacular and pictorial, and the drama will be lost in the shuffle. Shakespeare is still waiting for the right film treatment, and that right treatment will probably reveal that the old boy knew his job better than most of his interpreters.

James Connolly, Irish Socialist

SAMUEL LEVENSON

THERE has recently been a revival of interest in the life and writings of James Connolly. To a certain few, to be sure, he has always been revered as a leader of the Easter Rebellion of 1916; and an even smaller group has long esteemed his history of Ireland. But this revival is based on a much closer examination of his life: primarily, on the fact that he was one of the founders in the United States of that early type of industrial union known as the Industrial Workers of the World; and that one of the main problems throughout his life was to overcome the reluctance of a reactionary Catholic hierarchy to accept social reform.

James Connolly was born in Ulster on June 5, 1870, of poor Catholic stock. His father was a city sweeper. James was a silent, reserved lad, outwardly cold but inwardly aflame. An old Fenian uncle early acquainted him with the glory and agony of the great Nationalist struggles, and the exigencies of his poverty-stricken existence awoke him to inquiry and revolt. When he was eighteen, he left Edinburgh and roamed through various parts of Britain as a tramp, common laborer and peddler. He made the acquaintance of apostles of the Social Democratic Federation and read voluminously all phases of Irish revolutionary history and the writings of Marx and Engels. He married at the age of twenty-one, and, when his father was disabled, took over his father's job with the city. By this time he knew his goal: a Workers' Republic for Ireland.

He joined the Social Democratic Federation and motivated, in part, by the city's victimization of his brother, ran as Socialist candidate for representative of one of the wards in Edinburgh. After a hectic campaign that was long remembered in the city, he was defeated. Connolly had forfeited his job with the city by entering politics, and was now unemployed. For a brief period, he tried his hand at being a shoemaker, but the venture did not prove successful. He was on the point of emigrating to Chile, with the blessings of the Chilean government, when his wife and friends persuaded him to undertake a less romantic but far more formidable task. That was to bring the message of Socialism to benighted and distressed Dublin.

So, in 1896, when Connolly was twenty-six years old, he moved with his family to Ireland and established the Irish Socialist Republican

Party. In the pages of its organ, the Workers' Republic, he was the first to raise the cry for a free Socialist Ireland—this at a time when even Home Rule was regarded as Utopian, and when Irish politics was spent and disillusioned after the Parnell split. But to Connolly it was all clear; "We are Republicans because we are Socialists," and as such he fought landlordism, conceived and staged a mighty protest against the Boer War, attacked wage-slavery, revived the memory of Finian Lalor from neglect, and protested long and bitterly English imperialism. He took an active part in the electoral campaigns of his party, and ran for office himself on two occasions. He toured England and Scotland on lecture trips, and spent four months in the United States, lecturing under the auspices of the American Socialist Labor Party. Finally, he determined to go to America to stay.

In later years Connolly remarked cynically that he had made two grave mistakes in his life, first, in going to the United States, second, in returning. But the seven years that he spent in this country, from 1903 to 1910, left an indelible mark upon his character. Primarily, they added to his Nationalist and Socialist convictions a fervent faith in industrial unionism, and a knowledge of the practice of industrial unionism which was to have far-reaching effects upon his native country. It was a propitious time for Connolly to be in America, for in 1905 the I.W.W. was formed. Connolly was then thirty-five years old, had been in this country two years, and was a leading member of Daniel De Leon's Socialist Labor Party.

In April, 1908, Connolly split with De Leon, partly because of the latter's notorious dictatorial temperament, and partly because of attempts made to "identify Socialism with anything of marriage or sexual relations." Before Connolly left the party, he was denounced by De Leon as "an agent of the Jesuits!"

Connolly immediately joined the American Socialist Party, and became one of the spokesmen within its ranks for the concept of industrial unionism. His pamphlet, "Socialism Made Easy", published in 1908, argued that industrial unity was "the solid foundation upon which alone the political unity of the workers can be built and directed toward a revolutionary end." In 1909, he published an article in the "International Socialist Review," dealing with Victor

Berger's warning that, if the ballot were stricken from the hands of the Socialist Party, the possibility of using force must be considered. Connolly chided the Socialists for not paying sufficient attention to Berger's article and agreed that the capitalists might very well not wait until the Socialists got a majority at the ballot box; that they might precipitate a fight upon some fake issue while the masses were still undecided as to the merits of capitalism versus socialism, and install what we today call fascism. At the same time, he doubted the efficacy of Socialist rifles when opposed by modern instruments of warfare such as the airplane and the Zeppelin, then in their infancy. As he saw it, the alternative to the bullet was industrial unionism, fortified and completed, of course, by the ballot. An industrially organized working class, by the weapon of the general strike, could paralyze all industry and transportation, and make military power a broken reed. In 1910, in the same magazine, he declared that the A. F. of L. owing to its very nature, could not unify and strengthen the hosts of labor. "The most dispersive and isolating force at work in the labor movement today is craft unionism, the most cohesive and unifying force, industrial unionism." He believed that fears concerning the anti-political bias of the I.W.W. were doctrinaire, that whenever economic struggles necessitated the employment of political action, workers industrially organized would use it, all theories to the contrary notwithstanding. In their march to freedom the workers would use every weapon necessary. Connolly here erred on the side of syndicalism, but basically his instincts were sound in rejecting craft unionism and in stressing the importance of the industrial union.

In addition to organizing for the Socialist Party and the I.W.W., Connolly, while in the United States, founded the Irish Socialist Federation and edited its organ, the "Harp." It was this emphasis on Irish problems that made De Leon label Connolly as a Socialist with a "curious Nationalist kink" in him.

In the "Harp" Connolly attacked the anti-religious propagandists who infested the American Socialist movement of the time as "Scribblers who disgrace the Socialist ranks with their dogmatisms." He declared that he could always be relied upon "to borrow a pair of hob-nailed boots to dance on these blatant and perfervid free-thinkers."

His condemnation of clerical interference in secular affairs was equally decided. Socialism was an industrial and political question, he stated, and the Irish laborer who spent his life toiling in

the workshop, mine or factory had a greater mastery of economic knowledge than the priest who was fitted for the altar.

In the summer of 1910 Connolly returned to Dublin to become organizer for the Socialist Party of Ireland (Cummannacht na h-Eireann). One of his first tasks was to reply to a series of Lenten discourses against Socialism delivered in 1910 by Father Kane, S.J., in Dublin. In a pamphlet entitled "Labour, Nationality and Religion", he not only defended socialism against the misinterpretations of the Jesuit, but, from his rich storehouse of Irish historical knowledge, drew many instances in which the Catholic laity had taken political action contrary to the commands of a backward hierarchy, actions fully justified by subsequent events.

To the cry raised by his Jesuit opponent that Socialists were the worst enemies of their own country, whatever that might be, Connolly replied that the same cry had been raised, more truly, against the Jesuits many times in years past. He cited the fact that the Jesuits had been expelled from every Catholic country in Europe, and that in 1773 the Pope himself was forced to suppress the Jesuits in all the states of Christendom.

"Labour, Nationality and Religion" precipitated a controversy in the "Catholic Times," in October and November, 1912. Connolly again maintained that "the considerations which compel the Holy See, as such, to recognize the de facto government and the de facto social order are not binding upon individual Catholics, and we, therefore, retain to the full all our rights and prerogatives as citizens and workers for social betterment, without abating necessarily one jot of our Catholicity . . ."

In January of 1910 the Irish Transport Workers Union, an industrial union, was organized under the leadership of Jim Larkin. Connolly became its Secretary and Ulster organizer in the same year. In opposition the employers of Dublin formed a federation "to promote freedom of contract between employers and employees." Its leading spirit was William Martin Murphy, owner of the "Irish Independent" and other great properties in Dublin. In the summer of 1913 the federation, comprising 404 employers, united to compel their workers to sign the following form: "I hereby undertake to carry out all instructions given to me by or on behalf of my employers, and, further, I agree to immediately resign my membership of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union (if a member); and I further undertake that I will not join or in any way support this Union." The ensuing struggle took on the dimensions of a war. Twenty thousand people were

thrown out of employment, many of whom were not members of the Union. After a desperate struggle that lasted six months, the Union called off the strike and its members returned to work at the best terms they could get.

However, the strike had not been entirely in vain. On the credit side can be listed the formation of the Citizen Army which played a memorable part in the Easter Rising. The Rising itself has been termed "a direct sequel to the labour upheaval in Dublin in the winter of 1913." An investigation was begun by the Dublin Housing Committee which opened the eyes of the British people to the appalling conditions under which most of Dublin lived. As a final result, the Irish Trades Union Congress of 1914 took steps to set up an Irish Labour Party which, unlike the British Labour Party, should be intimately identified with the Trade Union Congress.

The war and the capitulation of both Socialist and Nationalists to British propaganda drove Connolly to despair. With Lenin, Reed, Debs, and Liebknecht, he denounced the "capitalist class of each nation as being the logical enemy," could find no excuse for "a Socialist who serves in a war, which he has denounced as a needless war," and called for a general uprising of labour as being less disastrous than continued hostilities. He regarded the war as vindicating his faith in industrial unionism. Had there been "a socialist political party directing a revolutionary industrial organization," the shameful capitulation of the Socialists and workers to the war hysteria would not have taken place.

And it is true that, unlike the labour movements in other countries, the leaders of Irish labour denounced the war upon its inception and discouraged recruiting. Connolly set himself to the task of harmonising the labour and republican movements, and Liberty Hall, the facade of which bore the device, "We serve neither King nor Kaiser," became the focus of resistance to the British government and its Irish adherents. Irish labour, and its Citizen Army, made its attitude clear in successive issues of Connolly's publication, the "Worker's Republic." The war propagandists were opposed at every step. When a number of Irish girls were taken to England to work in the munitions factories, Connolly alluded to the outcry that rose from priest and bishop in 1913 against an attempt to send strikers' children to England to be fed, and wondered ironically why no protest was now being made to "prevent these young Irish maidens from being sold into slavery."

Meanwhile, in 1915, he could say concerning a Franciscan lecturer that his only difference with him were those of definition. He readily accepted November, 1939

the family as the true type of human society, and argued only that "as in a family the true economy consists of utilising and conserving the heritage of all for the good of all, so in like manner the nation should act and be administered . . . To attain that end, we seek to organize every person who works for wages . . . The sympathetic strike is the affirmation of the Christian principle that . . . we are all keepers of our brothers and sisters and responsible for them."

Then came the Easter Rising, the heroic embodiment of Connolly's words: "For the only true prophets are they who carve the future which they announce." For almost a week a handful of idealists, patriots, and believers in a workers' republic held the center of Dublin against the might of Britain. The battle was lost but the war was won, for, after the execution of the leaders of the Rising, nothing would satisfy the Irish people less than complete national freedom. And for the first time in Irish history, the workers were not mere pawns in the game of the revolutionists. They not only filled the ranks of the Citizen Army and supplied one of the chief instigators to the Rising, but they shared in the formation of the Republican creed that "the right of the people to the ownership of Ireland" was "sovereign and indefeasible."

Before he was executed, Connolly received the last rites of the Church. He had been wounded in battle, and two Franciscans helped him from the stretcher to a chair which he gripped while he waited, head high, for the volley. In jail, when his wife learned of his pending execution, she sobbed, "But your beautiful life, James. Your beautiful life." "Hasn't it been a full life, Lillie," he answered, "and isn't this a good end?"

Connolly was dead, but Irish labor continued on the march. The Irish Trades Union Congress of 1916 rejected partition, and the 1918 Congress claimed for labor "the ownership and control" of its "whole produce." In the same year, Irish labor, "which had been the first to form a Red Guard," was the first to carry out, in the midst of the war, a general strike against continuing it. Its attitude toward the Soviet Union was equally unambiguous. It welcomed both the February and October Revolutions, and accepted the Russian formula of peace without annexations and indemnities.

Today Connolly's dream of an Irish Republic—albeit a partitioned one—has been realized. Whether or not that democracy and our democracy are to reach further frontiers depends in large measure on the clarity with which the millions of Irish Catholics enrolled in trade unions and other progressive organizations understand the issues for which he fought and died.

Lines for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Declaration of War, August 4, 1914.

The evening airs breathe coolly in the garden
The yellow fingers of the drowning sun relax
their clutch
on the cedars . . . The shadows droop under the
down-weighing burden
of night, creep like a dawn of darkness from the
east . . .
The stars begin to re-appear, a procession of
ghosts . . .
Always the swish of the
returning cars on the highway . . .

The trees achieve indeterminacy and the houses
and the
myriad shapes of day-sense . . . The pungent dog-
odour of the dog-daisies
surprises the nostrils, then asserts itself no longer
or the sense forgets . . . A radio is humming some
simple easy
tune, but it cannot shatter the tough elastic
silence . . .
nor can the returning cars,
quietness disdains them . . .

Not even the Fords like anachronous knights-in-
armour
with metallic clatter can pierce the resolute quiet-
ness
of the evening, as they jangle, renewing or com-
pleting such carefree amour
as a picnic began or a casual begging smile. . .
Their ways
are followed to their conclusions noisily, silence
suffers no damage
silence closes in upon them
like the sea upon a dropped stone . . .

Yes! the silence of the evening is an obdurate
sullen thing,
It has a fascination like a honed knife, a fascina-
tion
like a cloud of chlorine-gas, rolling, creeping,
rolling . . .
this drift of silence and darkness, this river of
quietness
falling softly upon the cedars, the firs, the im-
migrant garden trees . . .
the cars, with their bayonets
of light, are a relief.

—W. WATSON.

The Drums

The drums are thudding up the street,
The drums are rattling down,
The drums are marching young men's feet
From town to shattered town.

He who once held frail curragh tight
Against the reiving sea
Clumps stiff and mindless by (Eyes right!)
With a myriad garbed as he.

He who strove that foul disease
By tube and knife be banned,
Struggling to ineffective knees
Stares on a rag of hand.

He who had not yet got him sons
But left his love unwed,
Sprawls in a ditch while warm blood runs,
Takes worm for wife to bed.

While you, whose God is peace, who show
Tonsure and soutane,
Urge from the altar that each go
To slay his fellow man.

The drums are thudding up the street,
The drums are rattling down,
The drums are marching dead men's feet
From town to shattered town.

—UI BRIUN.

Oriental Rain

(A Hokku Sequence)

Serenading Poet

Japanese poets
Rain these hokkus by thousands
At New Year . . . So neat.

Serenading Bomber

Japanese airplanes
Rain down death-bombs by thousands
All year now . . . Child's treat.

Peace-loving Mother

Frail Chinese mothers
Rain ceaseless prayers for peace,
Hearths cold, life denied.

Peace-loving Plane

Frail Chinese airplanes
Rain pamphlets on Kobe's caged throngs—
Like China's, sad-eyed.

—JOHN F. DAVIDSON.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

The Despots

STALIN: Boris Souvarine; Longmans Green (Alliance); pp. 690; \$4.50.

THE REVOLUTION OF NIHILISM: Herman Rauschnig; Longmans Green (Alliance); pp. 300; \$3.50.

SOUVARINE, Frenchman, communist and once member of the Executive of the Communist International, writes on Russia where he sees the revolution betrayed and the counter-revolution in full swing; Rauschnig, German conservative monarchist and one-time Nazi President of the Danzig Senate, describes the development of Nazism. Their subject matter is very different, their points of view almost diametrically opposed, yet the outline of their stories is strikingly similar: a dictatorial machine compelled by its very nature to abandon every shred of its original platforms and philosophy until it concentrates upon one aim and one only, self-perpetuation. There are many parallels great and small, not least the periodical purges, the final deification of one man who can do no wrong, and complete ruthlessness. The two pictures may well be overdrawn; one does not expect detachment from the recently deconverted. It would seem that the aggrandisement of Germany is still a dominating principle of Nazism; indeed Hitler would be less dangerous if lust for personal power were his only motive, for his appeal to Pan-German sentiment would be the weaker. And Stalin has probably not entirely given up economic communism and betterment at whatever cost to life and liberty. Nevertheless the tendency here depicted is inherent in all despotisms, and from these two examples democrats everywhere may well draw a fresh determination to withstand vital encroachments upon their liberties everywhere.

Souvarine's Stalin hardly fulfills the claim of definitive biography made for it. Indeed the author himself admits that "any portrait of Stalin would be premature before his fall or death". The first half of the story is rather the history of revolutionary action in Russia from the birth of Stalin (1879) until the death of Lenin, with particular emphasis, of course, upon the 1917 revolutions and the first years of the Bolshevik regime. Here Lenin is inevitably the central figure, but Souvarine traces even at this time the mental attitudes and lines of action which contain the seeds of later degeneration. That Stalin, the ruthless "professional revolutionary" used by Lenin where a strong hand and no imagination were needed, plays, in these early days, a subsidiary part, is an appropriate background for the later development of his personality as here depicted. For Souvarine sees in him the supreme machine politician, ever manoeuvring from his position as secretary of the Party to place his own men in the key positions until his control over the party machine enables him to pick off his enemies piecemeal.

To the development of this process, essentially the Trotsky-Stalin conflict, two hundred pages are devoted, and the style becomes very repetitive. The last sixth of the book deals with the last twelve years. The Steel Secretary is at the centre of it all like a spider in its wide cast net, bent on murder and vengeance, on personal power and on nothing else. The result is somewhat unsatisfying: it is too much like reading the history of the early Roman empire in the pages of Suetonius and Tacitus; all these palace intrigues are not everything, one feels, even in an autocracy; the far-flung empire deserves more than this incidental treatment. Even if it is all true, it is not the whole story, not even the

whole story about Stalin, any more than about Tiberius. In spite of this, however, the book contains a wealth of important and well authenticated information and will certainly repay study. It should be added that Souvarine is not a follower of Trotsky, whom he criticizes with some bitterness.

While "Stalin" is a factual treatise wherein general reflections are handled with clarity and restraint, and always in close relation to the facts, "The Revolution of Nihilism", as its title betrays, is written in a somewhat turgid and pseudo-philosophical, often quite unnecessarily abstract style, further complicated where the author has appropriated the jargon of the revolutionary Left and used it for his own purposes. It is a pity if this turns away the general reader from the many things of great and immediate interest that Rauschnig has to say. It is also a pity that a mistaken austerity has prevented the author from giving a more personal slant to his story, as so much of his personal experience deserved to be put on record. We get far too little of it. Yet the book deserves wide attention. We have had so many denunciations of Nazism from the Left that this attack on it from the old Right shows many things in a new light. Particularly interesting is the analysis of events and motives in 1933 when the conservatives and the army opened the way for Hitler; also the long discussion of the function and political potentialities of the army, half nazified as it is.

There is not much hope in this picture of a brutal and brutalising ruling clique, whose only probable successor is a younger gang equally ruthless and self-seeking (Souvarine sees something of the kind also in Russia). Rauschnig clearly believed that this march to an ever more complete barbarism or nihilism could only be stopped if it received no further encouragement from abroad. He says clearly that Hitler could not stand a long war. Hence his "warning to the West" and his long essay on Nazi foreign policy, in the course of which he foresees the possibility of a German-Russian alliance.

The interest of this book lies not so much in its author's general outlook upon German and European affairs, as in the fact that it represents the point of view of the saner conservative elements in Germany who, if they are not the only people who might replace Hitler, are the only alternative that is likely to receive support from the West in doing so.

—G. M. A. GRUBE.

LIBRARIANS!

For economic replacements, EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC, or TECHNICAL BOOKS, new and used, submit your wants for quotation to

THE ACADEMY BOOK STORE

144 Bloor West
RAndolph 3424

Toronto
Open Evenings



SOL BERMAN INSURANCE

1405 Peel St.
Montreal, Que.

Res. DOLLARD 0884
Tel. BELAIR 2595-6

The Motive Force

THE CLUE TO HISTORY: John Macmurray; Macmillan Harpers; pp. 237; \$2.50.

THE changed atmosphere in religious thought can be measured by the growing influence of Marx. Berdyaev, Tillich, Niebuhr, and Macmurray are deeply influenced by Marxian thought, though in various degrees and with diverse results. Of the four Macmurray stands closest to Marx. "The synthesis of modern Christianity and modern Communism," he wrote in an earlier work, "I believe to be not merely possible, but urgently necessary."

The present work presents a Christian clue to Western history. Yet it assumes a Marxian clue to Christianity: the unity of theory and practice, the unreality of any idea or ideal in isolation from action (most succinctly stated in the second "Thesis on Feuerbach"). On the basis of this very principle Marx rejected Christianity. For he saw in all religion an extreme form of disunity and unreality: "the fantastic actualization of human nature, because this human nature has no true actuality." Macmurray accepts the principle, but rejects this application. He agrees that most of organized Christianity has been guilty of such dualism, and thus served as an idealist escape from materialist practice. But he holds that this and all other-worldly faith is "pseudo-religion." The unity of theory and practice is the meaning of sincerity, and the mark of "real" religion. "The Clue to History" tries to show how the classic origins of Christianity not only exemplify this thesis, but are indeed the historic source of every subsequent effort to resist dualism.

Beginning with the 'Hebrew consciousness,' Macmurray makes the striking claim that it was empirical, this-worldly, and free from the dualism of contemplation and action, soul and body, spirit and matter, God and history. Neighbouring cultures like the Egyptian and the Assyrian, were soaked in other-worldliness. But the Hebrews had scarcely a doctrine of immortality. They did not seek God above history, but in it. The speculative mood of Greek theology is foreign to them. They reflect "upon history to discover the nature of God and the laws of divine agency". Knowledge of God means to the Jews obedience to His commands; and these are the demands of empirical reality.

In Jesus the Hebrew consciousness discovers the truth that man realize his own nature (and fulfils the will of God) in a community which universalizes the command to love. Such a community is "personal". It is based not on organic bonds of blood and soil, but on the uniquely human capacity for intentional mutuality. Its ruling principles are universality, equality, freedom, and progress, in contrast to the Greek utopia which is aristocratic, territorially and racially exclusive, unequal, unfree for the masses, and rigidly static.

It is hopeless to try to summarize the rest of the book. Its motif is the flickering but inextinguishable intention kindled in Europe by Christianity. Dualist resistance never succeeds in destroying it. Rejected by the churches which accommodate themselves to an unfree, unequal, and conservative society, the Christian intention expresses itself in secular, and often anti-religious struggles for freedom, equality, and progress. Thus Marx is part of the Christian intention. The discussion of Fascism is one of the most suggestive parts of the book. Macmurray would fully endorse Freud's recent statement that "hatred for Judaism is at bottom hatred for Christianity."

For an interpretation of history the first question is: Is it true to the facts? The crucial instance here is that of the "Hebrew consciousness". Macmurray's interpretation is diametrically opposed to the Hegelian view that in Jewish thought "the spiritual element renounces the sensible, and

nature is degraded to an external, godless level". Macmurray's view is certainly closer to the conclusions of modern scholars. But the weakness of this method is that he makes no effort to take account of such historical findings and connect the Hebrew consciousness with the social history of the Hebrew people.

At times the author explicitly assumes the determination of modes of consciousness by modes of action. e.g.:

"The traditional habits of life, upon which our civilization is based, give rise to habits of thought and reflection which prevent us from understanding Christianity . . . Christianity itself is the product of the Jewish mind, which is the reflective aspect of Jewish habits of life . . ." (p. ix).

But elsewhere he seems to repudiate this assumption:

"It is a mistake to think that the class-dualism in society is the ultimate cause of dualism in thought" (p. 32).

"The Hebrew consciousness . . . in spite of the pressure of social and economic conditions, resists the tendency towards the establishment of class distinction" (p. 31).

If class-dualism is not the cause of dualism in thought, what is? What sort of entity is this "Hebrew consciousness" that has power to stem the pressure of social and economic conditions? Whose consciousness is it? Is it the consciousness of all Hebrews, with the exception of the wicked priests? Or is it the consciousness of a particular social group and of its spokesmen in the encroachments of the aristocracy upon the peasantry during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.?

One suspects the author's conception of the role of consciousness in historic change if, in spite of his repudiation of dualism, it permits a history of religious ideas that is not rooted at every point in the history of social movements.

Have you read These Leading Books?

CONFESSIONS OF AN IMMIGRANT'S DAUGHTER

This is the autobiography of Laura Goodman Salverson. Said to be her best work so far. \$2.50

TWO GENERATIONS

By Frederick Philip Grove. "One of the best novels ever written in Canada."—*The Globe and Mail* \$2.50

THE SPIRIT OF FRENCH CANADA

B. Ian Forbes Fraser. The first book written in English on the national spirit in French Canadian literature. "A scholarly and sympathetic account."—*Toronto Star*. \$2.75

THE VANISHING FRONTIER

By Philip H. Godsell. Better than any thriller, it gives an authentic picture of the Canadian Arctic frontier. \$3.50

DENMARK: A SOCIAL LABORATORY

By Peter Manniche. A specially interesting and well-illustrated book on Denmark today: farms, co-operatives, folk high schools, villages, etc. \$1.50

TRADER'S DREAM

By R. H. Mottram. The romantic history of the British East India Company. \$3.50

THE WAR BEHIND THE WAR, 1914-1918

By Professor F. P. Chambers. "The only single-volume survey of the decisive non-combatant forces of the World War."—*The New York Times*. \$4.75

At Your Booksellers

The Ryerson Press—Toronto

One's suspicions seem confirmed by some extraordinary judgments concerning recent history. He asserts, for example, that the underlying reason for the success of the Bolshevik revolution was the "Greek form of the Russian church" that "resulted in a development of the emotional creativeness of Russian society and so produced a reservoir of motive force" (p. 212); while the working-class movement failed in Germany because "the effective motives which would have provided the driving force were wanting" (ibid). To anyone with first-hand acquaintance of the influence (or lack of it) of the Eastern Church upon the masses of the people, the first assertion will seem incredible. The second is, I fear, a misleading over-simplification.

But in spite of all this, "The Clue to History" is a book of first-rate importance. It has sketched a subtle, complex, and powerful imaginative pattern, which puts the history of Christianity in a new perspective. Marxists will accuse it of idealism. But they must reckon seriously with this honest effort to give an account of the factor of conscious agency in historic change, and do so with deeper understanding of Marxian philosophy than any Christian writer has yet shown. Christians may resent its excision of the supernatural and its harsh judgment on the churches as hot-beds of dualism. But they cannot dismiss lightly a conception of Christianity as "the motive force behind the development of our civilization" (p. ix), which makes the most challenging Christian philosophy of history written in recent years.

—GREGORY VLASTOS.

Symposium

I BELIEVE, A series of Intimate Credos; Simon and Schuster; pp. 429; \$4.00.

READERS of the New Yorker are now acquainted with the methods of Messrs. Simon and Schuster who, after setting up their publishing firm with a book on cross-word puzzles proceeded to cash in on culture with Durant's "Story of Philosophy" and Dale Carnegie's "How to Win Friends," etc. These and other best-sellers in a lengthening list were thought up by the partners themselves in collaboration with their business manager. Having conceived the main idea out of some suggestion or other they proceeded to find suitable authors to write the book. Readers who have enjoyed Margaret Halsey's "With Malice Towards Some" may be disconcerted to know how even this apparently artless work emerged by degrees from an "Essorders" memo (the partners favour this sort of coinage). Anyway, the point is that books which for two thousand years have been in the main the haphazard projections of individual brains are now being hammered out to a much more impersonal tempo. "Simon and Schuster have a newspaper editor's approach to publishing, and prefer to assign books to authors rather than wait around for them to bring something in." But they are far from unique in this, witness Gollancz and the Left Book Club and the Penguin Series. And books turned out to prescription are becoming more important, informative and even better-written on the whole than the free-lance stuff. Has the collectivist revolution at last laid its grip on literature?

What exactly the implications of all this may be I am not quite sure, but it would seem that the reviewer confronted by "I Believe" should pause. "In this book, speaking directly and frankly to the reader, are the voices of twenty-one eminent men and women of our time." So speaks the blurb, and it seems to state an obvious fact. But suppose (which is very likely) that the sentence expresses a conception of Schuster's? (Simon's tastes, it is averred, run to the lighter aspects of living, e.g. "How To Become a Good

Dancer" and "Fun In Bed"—both best sellers. It is a safe bet that the Schuster side of the office thought up "I Believe"): suppose further that he was phrasing it thus, the plan already projected in his brain, even before the twenty-one essays were written? Little reader, what now? Are you being gently deluded for your own (cultural) good? Is this little intimate symposium of personal revelations, or rather a mass-production article, grade A quality, but written to specification, pattern supplied by S. and S., who have discerned the desire of the reading public to acquire a soul, and here give twenty-one selected samples? From this point of view the book is probably more significant and important than if it were a work of casual inspiration.

The essays themselves are short, vigorous and clear, and taken together have a surprising coherence, partly because these twenty-one great are all recognisable as intellectuals and writers (though they include Stefansson the explorer). The reader is spared—in this volume—dictators, business leaders and movie-stars. Mann and Maritain and Romans are fluently translated, to them are added Englishmen like Laski, E. M. Forster, Julian Huxley; Americans like Pearl Buck, Stuart Chase, Santayana. The whole collection is edited with biographical notes by Clifton Fadiman, the S. and S. editor in chief. The impression of coherence of course is restricted to certain general attitudes. These writers all face a world order in dangerous transition, and they write soberly as men who desire to establish in their credo some satisfactory personal relationship with the forces of transition (the exception is James Thurber's contribution, and why he appears in this gallery at all is something of a mystery: pity Schuster did not encourage him to supply a few drawings and leave it at that). But within this coherence there is inevitably the widest diversity of belief no less than of style. W. H. Auden leads off with a series of impersonal and pregnant formulations in Spinoza fashion. Rebecca West closes with a personal and poignant piece of feminism, perhaps the most readable of all the twenty-one. The contrast illuminates the two ways of writing a credo-objective and subjective. The poet takes his ideas seriously, and the woman, herself; the other nineteen severally conform to one or other of these patterns.

—E. A. HAVELOCK.

China Reborn

THE PEOPLE'S WAR: I. Epstein; Ryerson; pp. 384; \$2.50.

IN recent years we have seen the deliberate destruction of the system of collective security, and that at the hands of the great powers which created it. Its collapse has been attended by a succession of brutal rapes and murders in which the part of those powers has been that of silent accomplices of the criminals . . . when it has not been worse. Thus Ethiopia, Austria, Czechoslovakia, free Spain have disappeared; and among the victims of aggression China alone still holds up her head. She need thank no one but herself for her ability to do so. A power but lately weak and divided against itself, China to-day, by the force of her own exertions, is in a fair way to actualizing a vast potentiality; if her effort is sustained, she may well become, and that in a short time, the most powerful state on earth. In which case we shall see whether she will return like for like; whether evil communications, forcibly thrust upon her, will have so corrupted her good manners that she will ape those of her enemies and of those who should have been her friends. Should she do that the result will be not only a major tragedy for civilization—that would not trouble us—but just as certainly a ghastly menace or worse to ourselves. But of course we shall blame the Chinese . . .

Mr. Epstein in the work before us does not expand into speculations of this kind. He offers a survey of the present Sino-Japanese war from its inception until the spring of this year. He has all the qualifications, save those peculiar to the academic historian, which could be desired in anyone attempting this task; and if the book suffers somewhat from this lack, it gains still more from other advantages which rarely fall to the historian proper. Mr. Epstein until lately was a writer for the United Press; he has spent all his conscious life in China, knows the language and the people thoroughly, has had contacts with leading figures of all parties and has been an eye-witness of many of the events and conditions which he describes. While attempting no concealment of his sympathy for the Chinese, he appears to maintain a high level of objectivity. And his book is alive, as alive as the Chinese have themselves become. It is forged of a reciprocal enthusiasm that animates both the writer and his subject. It is epic in its sweep and in the depth and vigour and end-potentiality of the forces that move in it. It is an epic of oppression, of disunity, of suffering of these mitigated or superseded by unity, purpose, resistance; it has within it the germ of another epic, an epic of victory. It implies, but does not ask, the portentous question: what then?

Mr. Epstein does not merely record events; if judged only as an historian he will be found to have given a good account of the conditions, political, economic, psychological, and other, in which those events have been enacted and of which they are the expression. What he says of the antecedents of the war will scarcely meet the needs of those who are unfamiliar with the history of China since the 1911 Revolution; he appears to give rather less than due prominence to the personality and achievements of Chiang Kai-shek; and accepts too easily Mao Tse-tung's theory of the three-stage war. These are slight defects. A greater one is the lack of a subject-index. The book is full of matter; but that matter is so skilfully and inconspicuously disposed that a guiding thread is indispensable if it is to realise its full value. Perhaps the omission could be remedied in the second edition which may be confidently expected in the near future.

I reserve to the last what I consider to be the chief significance of this book; namely, that it reveals the Chinese—whom a very few years ago most of us were content to ignore, if not to despise—reveals them achieving, practising, and enjoying the fruits of the reality of democracy, and all this in a way and to a degree that puts the democracies, so—and self-called, positively and damnably to shame.

—R. E. K. PEMBERTON.

In Concert With Humanity

THE PAINTER AND THE LADY: William J. Blake; Musson (Simon & Schuster); pp. 484; \$2.50.

IT is as easy to be enthusiastic about Mr. Blake's second novel as it was about his first, "The World Is Mine." The same gusto carries the reader along in a breathless rush from the first paragraph to the last without a tiresome sentence or a superfluous note. This book, too, is a magnificent leap into contemporary life with its misfits, its ineptitudes, its vulgarities, its gangsterisms and its idealisms. Excitement is present everywhere in "The Painter and the Lady," as in all great art, and, as you read, you think of Galsworthy, of Anatole France, of Balzac, of Rabelais, of Cervantes, mostly of Cervantes. This is great company. Like each of that company Mr. Blake is first and foremost Wm. J. Blake, afterwards he is a competent artist. He knows

his own times. He is versed in the humanistic tradition. He loves his art with passion and all the intense original beauty of it. The technique he employs is intriguing and effective for the communication of values as well as for the support of a complicated plot. Intensely colourful characters, presented with Balzacian definiteness, frequently fill the scene with melodrama although the novel itself is in no sense melodramatic.

Few novelists succeed as Mr. Blake does in the subordination of idea to emotion. More than one moment of reflection is needed before the full sense of characters and action is revealed. The scene is laid in the south of France with madcap Béziers as centre and radiates through picturesque Provence and Languedoc, where passion runs high as the interest develops in the fields of finance, politics, religion, art and the social order. The whole action rests on the question of the organization of workers in the vineyards and follows the development and triumph of the Popular Front party in France from 1934 to 1936, particularly as it affects the career of Stéphane Sabatier, the expert vine-grower who, gangstered out of big business, turns his artistic genius to account in the search for truth and beauty. Beauty, no longer the anaemic and ambiguous figure of our immediate predecessors but wilful, fierce, elusive, vindictive and remorseful, is incorporated in the flaming figure of Simone Lamouroux, shopgirl and artist, questing likewise for truth. For Simone, as for Stéphane, beauty can discover its sincere self only in active concert with humanity. Therefore they attach themselves passionately to the only social group which appears to be capable of disinterested action, that of the Popular Front. As a result the art of each of them attains an unheard-of vigor and sincerity. But the assumption of power by the party coincides with its loss of disinterestedness. The first act of the new administration confirms the last act of the old by which, through the perversion of justice, Stéphane is condemned for a crime he knew nothing of, committed by brilliant rascals he had known during his adventures into high finance. The compromise costs Stéphane his life. Thus are solved the relations between society and the individual.

Whether Mr. Blake has something to say that no one has quite said before or not, there is no reason why he should let his pen drop from his hands. What he has to say is said as no one else is saying it. His writing has the charm of direct, vivacious and rapid speech, full of curious imagery. If it is true that what counts in art is the way thought is expressed then I should think Mr. Blake's art is destined to a very long life.

—J. S. WILL.

Utah Pioneers

CHILDREN OF GOD: Vardis Fisher; Musson; \$3.00.

THIS IS THE PLACE: Marguerite Cameron; Caxton; pp. 338; \$3.00.

VARDIS Fisher's new novel can be recommended as "good reading" rather than as a "good book." It is not "an American epic" as its subtitle affirms, but the raw material for one. Mr. Fisher has told the story of the Mormons by a salty mixture of journalized history and slangy imagined dialogue. All the happenings, alleged or actual of early Mormonism seem to be here, all the action, with special attention to the violent, the neurotic, and the erotic. What is missing is the underlying motivation, the psychology and sociology of the greatest American experiment in polygamy.

The first third of the narrative is a lively account of the Latter Day Saints from their beginnings in upstate New York to the destruction of their City of Zion on the banks of the Mississippi in 1845. The focus is rightly upon Joseph

Smith, the dreamy backwoodsman who at twenty wrote the Book of Mormon and launched a religious movement which was to endure through decades of mob violence, successive exiles and a mass migration across the plains, to found the state of Utah.

The author's imagination does not penetrate far beneath the surface action. The dialogue, though rowdy enough, grows monotonous and smacks of WPA research into the exact slang of the 1830's. The portrait of Smith is lively but superficial. He appears at one moment to be a visionary idealist, at the next a devious hoaxing sensualist, or a neurotic, or an epileptic. He may have been all four, but the author does not fuse these aspects into any kind of credible personality unit.

The second section carries the saga from the murder of Smith and the ascendancy of Brigham Young to the establishment of the Mormon Empire in the wild Salt Lake Valley. The great crossing of the plains is well dramatized. Fisher is at his best in picturing scenes involving desperate mass action. Yet even here the book does not rise quite to the epic plane. What is lacking is not so much historical perspective as historical feeling. One is aware of a quizzical novelist, half professor, half journalist, whose intellectual aloofness prevents either political or emotional sympathy with the struggles of his characters.

Mr. Fisher's final section chronicles the inevitable victory of the American bourgeois norm over the Latter Day Saints, the retreat from polygamy, the cooperative agricultural life, and independent statehood. Culturally the most interesting period of Mormonism, it is the weakest part of the book. Mr. Fisher's narrative never becomes dull, however, and his dialogue remains picturesque and exciting throughout.

Miss Cameron's "Crossing the Plains" will serve as a very useful handbook for those who get bewildered in the midst of Mr. Fisher's 769 pages. "This is the Place" is a simple history of Utah and Mormonism written for school youths. Though the style is somewhat latter-day-saintly the factual matter and the photographic illustration contains much to instruct the adult "Gentile."

—EARLE BIRNEY.

Some Facts, Little Theory

MY 50 YEARS IN ENGINEERING, The Autobiography of a Human Engineer; Embury A. Hitchcock, in collaboration with Merrill Weed, and with a foreword by C. F. Kettering; Copp Clark (Caxton); pp. 277; \$3.00.

"HUMAN Engineering" was the title of a main editorial in a recent issue of "The Engineer," leading engineering weekly of England. With characteristic British caution the writer expressed doubt as to the correctness of this title to describe the impact of engineering upon society, but he went on to say that "engineers are at length, and none too soon, reaching that condition of thought upon the inter-relationship of their work and the everyday life of human communities at which a descriptive title is becoming desirable." There will be many who, appreciating the importance of this trend in engineering thought, will approach this book with high hopes in view of the subtitle, (despite its ambiguity) and the eminence of its author, Dean Emeritus of the College of Engineering at Ohio State University. All such hopes will be in vain for in the whole course of its twenty-three chapters only four fragmentary references to general social conditions will be found, apart from a few random reflections in the last chapter entitled "An Engineer's Philosophy." All four are brief in the extreme; they are typified by such a statement as this—"Then Came the War, and economics went out of the window—where they have stayed ever since." The concluding philosophy is of this type—"In-

ventions set social forces in motion. Regardless of disagreeable instances, the net effect is wholesome."

The book has a certain interest in that Dean Hitchcock's engineering experiences cover the fifty years in which engineering developments in the United States have brought that country to the industrial eminence which it has today. This advance is reflected in the random reminiscences which constitute this autobiography, grouped under varied headings which break up the "diary and interviewer" style almost unavoidable in a book of this nature. Contrasts provided by incidents mentioned in the early chapters are striking. What would students of today think, for example, of the young man who, wishing to obtain an engineering education, walked from Vermont through New York to Ann Arbor, Michigan, finishing with fifty dollars in his pocket which he had earned on the way? But the later chapters provide contrasts of wider significance, between that American way which was the hallmark of a pioneer country and the besetting social problems of today. This is instanced by Dean Hitchcock's references to power developments in the Tennessee Valley; he was associated with the early work of private power interests in developing water power in their search for profits in the area now covered by the activities of the T.V.A.

The subtitle is explained by the close attachment of Dean Hitchcock to engineering education; the degree of "Human Engineer" bestowed upon him by students he regards as probably his greatest honour. The foreword to the book is written by his most famous student, Charles F. Kettering well known as Director of Research for General Motors Corporation. Conflicting but stimulating thoughts are suggested by the fact, here recorded, that the Dean had no recollection of him as a student at all.

—R. F. LEGGET.

Read

LE JOUR

Cultural and Political Weekly

- The only really independent French weekly.
- Opposed to separatism: (Quebec for the French only), and to the racial cry.
- Read LE JOUR and master your French.
- Sound advertising medium.
- Quebec is waking up.

Six months \$1.50.

One year \$2.50.

JEAN-CHARLES HARVEY, EDITOR
180 St. Catherine St. East, Montreal

A sample copy will be sent on request.

INDIA RUBBER MAN: Ralph F. Wolf; Copp Clark (Caxton); pp. 291; \$3.00

THIS is the not very exhaustive biography of Charles Goodyear who first perfected the process of vulcanization. Goodyear's life and times, contrary to the reader's first impression, is a rich source of material for the biographer. Mr. Wolf, however, whether through the confines of space or through a limited imagination, has not taken advantage of it. The character of the inventor as here presented might be that of any number of men of minor inventive genius. The complete lack of ability to manage his own affairs, the indifference to wealth, the fanatical, single-minded pursuit of a goal seem to be the characteristics of a type rather than the distinguishing marks of an individual. And it is on these traits that the biographer leans most heavily. His piety and his congenital integrity, his life-long conviction that the primary use of his invention was for life-saving apparatus, are the real clues to the man but they are only lightly stressed. The discovery of the process itself is described in detail and so is the patent dispute, known as the Great India Rubber Case, in which Daniel Webster made his last courtroom appearance, appearing for Goodyear and his associates. These sections are well-handled though not absorbingly so. The remainder of the work is mediocre.

—ELEANOR GODFREY.

Pressure Group No. 1

THE CANADIAN MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION,
a Study in Collective Bargaining and Political Pressure:
S. D. Clarke; University of Toronto Press; pp. 107;
\$2.00.

MR. Clarke believes that pressure groups have attracted more attention in the United States than in Canada because the American system of government, with its separation of powers, and the weakness of parties in Congress, gives them more scope than the Canadian system with its strict control by the Cabinet over legislative activity and over the policy of the party in office. This may be so, but it does not explain why all other aspects of American politics and government have also been so much more thoroughly studied than their Canadian parallels. At any rate, he has given us here a very enlightening study of the part played by the C.M.A. in the making of Canadian public policy and public opinion. After its first great success in the establishment of the National Policy, his general picture is of an organisation which was repeatedly in danger of disintegration because of the lack of unity of interest among its members. As the Canadian economy became more complex the finished products of some manufacturers became the raw materials of others, and the interests of these different groups in tariff schedules conflicted with one another. Particular manufacturers never ceased the practice of depending upon their own lobbying efforts at Ottawa instead of making use of the services of their association. As the Association grew in numbers its affairs fell more and more under the direction of a bureaucracy of skilled professional experts who "in contrast to the lay leaders, were more likely to view the social system as a working mechanism and to have a greater appreciation of the rights of the various interests involved." In time also the C.M.A. found itself challenged by organised workers and farmers, who also had pressure groups at Ottawa that might be more effective because they represented directly more votes than the manufacturers. On the whole this book gives a picture of Canadian manufacturers as a rather unhappy lot of men living in an unappreciative community. Yet personal observation assures one that they are mostly well fed and comfortable. Can it be

that the records of their activities in association with one another, as preserved in print, leave too strong an impression of disputes and difficulties? Happy is the pressure group which has no history.

—F. H. U.

LOST LIBERTY? Joan and Jonathan Griffin; Oxford University Press; pp. 290; \$2.75.

THE authors were in Czechoslovakia through the crisis of 1938, and had lived there often before. They tell again the story of the Runciman mission, the Munich agreements and the German invasion. The tale has often been told before; the special interest of the Griffins' book does not lie so much in their passionate sympathy for the Czechs or their violent disapproval of British policy—these traits are shared by all English and American writers who watched events from Prague—but rather in the fact that they had access to Czech official documents, some of which are here published for the first time. Their eye-witness accounts of events in Sudetenland show the majority of its inhabitants to have, at the end but too late, been ready to cooperate with the Czechs. The book is well documented, and makes a powerful appeal to the reader's sympathy and imagination.

CORRECTION: Denmark A Social Study by Peter Maniche is published in Canada by the Ryerson Press not by the Oxford University Press as incorrectly stated in the October issue.

Don't write it — TYPE IT!



RELIABLE and EFFICIENT

"baby" PRICE ONLY \$45

MADE IN
ENGLAND

EMPIRE

The best-selling PORTABLE
TYPEWRITER for personal use

• de luxe

SEE YOUR NEAREST DEALER OR WRITE TO

M. P. HOFSTETTER
IMPORTERS

77 Adelaide Street West

Toronto, Canada

Sample Copies are sent free to prospective subscribers suggested by anyone now on our mailing list. Please send us your list NOW.
Address CANADIAN FORUM, 28 Wellington Street West,
Toronto, Canada.

The Political Use of the Radio: Thomas Grandin; Geneva Research Centre; pp. 116; 40c.

The author, who is himself actively engaged in radio work in Europe, first classifies programmes according to the public for which they are intended, i.e. listeners within the country that is broadcasting, the continental public outside the borders of the transmitting nation, and inter-continental audiences. After an attempt to gauge the effect of such political transmissions as news broadcasts, lectures, etc., the author concludes with an evaluation of efforts made to limit the use of radio as a political instrument. Among the statistics included in the Annexes is a schedule of the hours of principal foreign broadcasts which should prove of interest to people desiring to "listen in" on such foreign programmes.

Psychological Aspects of War and Peace: Robert Waelder; Geneva Research Centre; pp. 56; 40c.

War, in the opinion of the author, is largely a problem of mass psychology. After carefully defining the term "mass", he examines the process of mass formation, the way in which violence between masses comes about, the causes of war, and the conditions of enduring peace in the modern world. He finds mass formation to involve a renunciation of moral maturity on the part of the individual.

The Struggle For Peace: The Rt. Hon. Neville Chamberlain; Thomas Allen; pp. 434; \$3.00.

These collected speeches of Mr. Chamberlain, from May 31, 1937—three days after he became Prime Minister—to April 3, 1939 give a clear picture of the developing steps in the policy of appeasement and conciliation towards the dictators, its failure, and the adoption of a different policy last March, "a tremendous departure from anything which this country has undertaken hitherto", as Mr. Chamberlain himself describes the contemplated guarantees to prospective victims of aggression (p. 430). Read in the lights of later events we see how every conciliatory step was used by the dictators to strengthen their own position. The speeches deal almost entirely with foreign policy, culminating at Munich and the last invasion of Czechoslovakia. On that occasion, the two speeches, in the House of Commons on March 15 and at Birmingham on March 17, should be closely compared. It is between the two that the change came.

This collection might well be read in conjunction with Mr. Winston Churchill's "Step By Step" (reviewed in September Forum), covering the same period. The annotations by Mr. Arthur Bryant contain a brief account of the circumstances under which the various speeches were delivered, and the attacks of the Opposition to which they reply. It is a pity that longer extracts from these could not be given. However, the interested reader can go on to read the British Hansards of the more important debates to get the whole picture.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Mention in this list does not preclude review in this or a later issue).

Cross Country, poems: Alan Creighton; Macmillan; pp. 68; \$2.00.

Hero In Famine and other poems: M. Eugenie Perry; Clark Printing Co., Victoria, B.C.; pp. 32.

The Song of the Sea: Joseph Twomlow-Britt; Kaleidograph Press, Texas; pp. 39.

Ballad Making in the Mountains of Kentucky: Jean Thomas; Oxford University Press (Holt); pp. 270; \$3.00.

Why Work? or the Coming Age of Leisure and Plenty: Roger Payne; Meador Publ. Co., Boston; pp. 404; \$2.50.

Furs To Furrows: Sydney Greenbie; Copp Clark (Caxton); pp. 413; \$3.50.

Ethiopia, An Empire in the Making: Ferdinando Quaranta; P. S. King (London); pp. 120; 7s. 6d.

Basic Theories of Distribution: B. F. Catherwood; P. S. King; pp. 262; 12s.

Boss Man: Louis Cocran; Copp Clark (Caxton); pp. 271; \$2.50.

Knots: Emile Vaillancourt (intr. T. S. Ewart); Ducharme, Montreal; pp. 178.

The Polish Penal Code of 1932; transl. with introd. Raphael Lemkin and Malcolm McDermott; pp. 195; \$1.50.

Oxford Pamphlets On World Affairs, Oxford University Press; pp. 31-2; 10c each.

Living Space and Population Problems: R. R. Kucsynski.

Turkey, Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean: G. F. Hudson.

The Dual Policy: Sir Arthur Salter.

Encirclement: J. L. Brierley.

The Refugee Question: John Hope Simpson.

The Corner Stone of Democracy: John Macdonald; Ryerson (Dominion Books); pp. 60; 30c.

True Democracy: Constantin Paul Lent; Livingston Press; pp. 56.

Vacations With Pay In Canadian Industry: Industrial Relations Section, Queen's University, Bulletin No. 3.

Report of the Work of the League 1938-1939: League of Nations.

Psychological Aspects of War and Peace: Robert Waelder; Geneva Studies, X, 2; pp. 56; 40c.

World Production and Prices, 1938-9: League of Nations II a 17.

Wealth, Welfare of War: M. J. Bonn; Intern. Instit. Intell. Coop.; pp. 50; 75c.

Public Affairs Pamphlets, Public Affairs Citee Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York; 10c each.

Cooperatives in the U.S., A Balance Sheet: Maxwell S. Stewart.

This Problem of Food: Jennie I. Rowntree.

Jobs After Forty: Beulah Amidon.

Sam: George Selby; Farrar & Rinehart (Oxford); pp. 346; \$2.50.

Documents On American Foreign Relations: Ed. by S. Shepard Jones and Denys P. Myers; World Peace; pp. 582; \$3.75.

Ahriman: Brig. Gen. O. L. Spaulding; World Peace; pp. 143; Cl. \$1.00; paper 50c.

Night Of The Poor: F. Prokosch; Musson (Harper's); pp. 359; \$2.75.

Alaska: M. S. Pilguin; Caxton; pp. 296.

Under The Sun: Arthur S. Bourinot; pp. 69; \$1.50.

Men's Suits '35 to '60

Craftsmanship and Intelligent Interpretation of Style

THE HARRY SKITCH Co. Ltd.
9 Adelaide East, EL. 4763, Toronto

STEAMSHIP BOOKINGS

by any line
UNIVERSITY TRAVEL CLUB
Management J. F. and G. H. Lucas
57 Bloor St. W., Toronto KL. 1452
Ask for our combined European Sailing List

BOOKS

New : Used : Out-of-print
Let us quote on your wants from the Largest Stock in Canada
C. Cole & Company Ltd.

THE BOOK EXCHANGE

370 Bloor W., Toronto KL. 2151

MISCELLANEOUS

WATCH REPAIRING—28 Years' Experience. A. W. Snack, 309 Queen West, Toronto.

COMBINATION SUBSCRIPTIONS

The Canadian Forum \$2.00 a year with the following publications:

1. **The New Republic** \$5.50 a year
Both for one year\$6.50
2. **Common Sense** \$2.50 a year
Both for one year\$3.50
3. **The New Commonwealth** \$2.00 a year
(Weekly, Ontario and Eastern Canada)
Both for one year\$3.00
4. **The People's Weekly**
(Alberta) \$2.00 a year
Both for one year\$3.00
5. **The Federationist** \$2.00 a year
(Weekly, British Columbia)
Both for one year\$3.00
6. **The Manitoba Commonwealth**
\$2.00 a year
(Outside Winnipeg, \$1.00)
Both for one year\$3.00
(Outside Winnipeg, \$2.50)
7. **Time and Tide** \$3.75 for 26 issues.
(British Non-Party Independent Review) 26 issues of Time and Tide and the Forum for one year\$4.00
Both for one year\$3.00

Please add exchange for U.S.A. subscriptions.

Both NEW and RENEWAL subscriptions accepted.

Mail your order to

THE CANADIAN FORUM
28 Wellington Street West, Toronto, Canada

GIVE

CHRISTMAS GIFT SUBSCRIPTIONS

of The Canadian Form
Special Gift Rate

\$1.50

For Twelve Months

**"Must helpless man, in ignorance sedate,
Roll darkling down the torrent of his fate?"**

—Samuel Johnson

Not—to Use the Vernacular —If We Can Help It

We all recognize that war is no longer a matter of concern for Generals alone, but that it now lays a burden on every member of the people.

We all know that the theatre of war is no longer confined to the battlefield, but that it now touches the threshold of every home.

Then it is of profound importance to every citizen that he understand the causes of war, so that, upon its termination, the foundations of international peace may be more enduring.

It is of equal importance that he understand the cost of war, so that the social and economic gains of the last quarter century may not be lost but, if possible, strengthened.

For sane direction and careful appraisal of fact and rumour

Read

The Canadian Forum

**Subscription:
\$2.00 per year**

**28 Wellington St. W.
Toronto, Ontario**
